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2012

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**Surrounding Amazonia: The 1637-39 Teixeira Expedition,
Knowledge and Representation**

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by

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By

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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Abstract

This Master's Thesis investigates the 1637-39 Teixeira's expedition and how it transformed the Amazon region at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It assumes that this expedition was a key historical event to challenge the balance of power in the area. It shows through historical documents how ethno-geographic knowledge was an essential tool in the discursive construction of the Amazon Natives, undermining their cultural landscapes and initiating the process by which geographical knowledge enabled European territorial power. Foucault's framework to approach and expound on the relationship between knowledge and power is the theoretical system of analysis that helps to understand the meaning embedded in the historical documents under scrutiny.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In 1637, Jácome Raimundo de Noronha, the governor of Maranhão, launched a large expedition to unveil the mysteries of the Amazon River.¹ Noronha chose Pedro Teixeira, a career military officer, to command the expedition. The voyage of Teixeira was a key event in the Amazon's representation. The expedition had important antecedents like the pioneer expeditions of Francisco de Orellana (1542), Lopes de Aguirre (1559), and Domingo Brieva (1636). However, Teixeira was the first one to successfully go from Pará to Quito and back, returning with the knowledge necessary to initiate the European conquest of the Amazon. Subsequent explorers like the Jesuit Samuel Fritz (1707) and the French illuminato Charles Marie de la Condamine (1735) used the geographical and ethnological knowledge acquired in this expedition to present some of the first scientific material about the Amazon region.² Even today's scholars are

¹ The spelling and the legal designation of Maranhão and Pará, often designated as São Luiz do Maranhão and Gran Pará (sic), are both inconsistent on the historical documents of the period. The town of São Luís do Maranhão was considered the head of government of the province also called among the Portuguese authorities the colonial State of Maranhão. Frequently Pará was also designated as a province or a captaincy of this State. See the Royal Charter issued in the name of the King by Cyprião de Figueiredo, Lisbon, November 7, 1619, in Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia" aos confins da Amazônia, 1615-62*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Edições Cosmos and Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000), 264-67.

² This knowledge is called potential scientific material in reference to historiographical controversies about when we can actually start to talk about modern science. Technically, it is not a good idea to refer to any knowledge as "science" in reference to the modern use of the word until the second half of the 18 century and beginning of 19 century, when the term gets more consolidated and more accepted among historians. However, in this Thesis I accept the term as proposed by Maria M. Portuondo, "referring to a group of quite distinct ways of producing knowledge about the natural world. These approaches included natural philosophy, experimentalism, natural history, natural magic, and mixed mathematics." Also, she proposes the term science "as a shorthand to refer to the scientific theoretical framework and practices of cosmographers," and other humanists that in the 15 century rediscovered the work of classical geographers and Ptolemy's *Geography*. Maria M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World*. (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 2-3.

still looking at the remaining accounts about this expedition to have insights onto potential scientific material.³

Yet, stories about this expedition repeatedly concentrated on the institutional context because the Teixeira Expedition was a major factor in the Portuguese-Indigenous settlements that were used to revendicate Portuguese possession of the region. The borders between the Iberian nations in the Treaty of Madrid (1750) and in the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1777) as well as in subsequent nineteenth – and twentieth –century agreements between Brazil, Peru, Colombia, France, Dutch Guiana (Suriname), and British Guyana relied on accomplishments from the Teixeira expedition.⁴ Teixeira's journey was a well-planned expedition with specific objectives and orders. Composed of 47 canoes, it included around 70 Europeans and 1200 Natives with their women and children. This expedition produced a new representation of the Amazon River region, but what were the reasons for the expedition, what did it achieve, who benefited from it, and

³ See Nelson Papavero's books on fauna and flora of Brazil. Dante Martins Teixeira and Nelson Papavero, *Os animais do descobrimento: a fauna brasileira mencionada nos documentos relativos à viagem de Pedro Álvares Cabral (1500-1501)*. (Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, 2006). Nelson Papavero and Dante Martins Teixeira, eds, *A fauna de São Paulo nos séculos XVI a XVIII, nos textos de viajantes, cronistas, missionários e relatos monçoeiros*. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo: Museu de Zoologia da Universidade de São Paulo, 2007). Specifically about expeditions on the Amazon see: Papavero et al. *O Novo Éden: a fauna da Amazônia brasileira nos relatos de viajantes e cronistas desde a descoberta do rio Amazonas por Pinzón (1500) até o tratado de Santo Ildefonso (1777)*. (Belém, Brazil: Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, 2000).

⁴ For instance, see documents and references presented by Barão do Rio Branco to international institutions to consolidate the Brazilian frontiers, and later published by the Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil. See José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior [1845-1912], Barão do Rio Branco, *Questões de limites*. 3. ed. facsimile (Brasília, Brazil: Câmara dos Deputados, Coordenação de Publicações, Fundação Alexandre Gusmão e Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2002). Jorge de Araujo (ed.), *Rio Branco e as fronteiras do Brasil: uma introdução às obras do Barão do Rio Branco* (2nd ed. Brasília, Brazil: Senado Federal, 1999).

what type of knowledge was obtained from that journey that allowed such transformation of the symbolic representation of the region?

In 1949, Jaime Cortesão argued that the main objective of this exploration was political and to discover whether the Amazon River might permit access to the wealth of Peru.⁵ However, Jácome Raimundo de Noronha justified the reasons for the expedition in different ways for each audience.⁶ To Pedro Teixeira, Noronha gave a *Regimento*, commanding him not only to define strategic positions on the river, but on the trip back to take possession of it in the name of the king under the Crown of Portugal.⁷ To Phillip IV of Spain, who was also Phillip III of Portugal due to the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in 1580, Noronha sent a letter implying that his decisions would be in

⁵ See Jaime Cortesão, “O significado da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira à Luz de Novos Documentos” in vol.3 of *Anais do IV Congresso de História Nacional, 21-28 Abril de 1949*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950), 169-204.

⁶ See Letter from D. Alonso Perez de Salazar Presidente of the Royal Audience of Quito to Phillip IV of Spain, Quito, May, 1639 in Jaime Cortesão, 1950, 194-201. See Letter from the Governor Jácome Raimundo de Noronha to Phillip III of Portugal, São Luís do Maranhão, May 1637, in Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia" aos confins da Amazônia, 1615-62*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Edições Cosmos and Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000), 302-06.

⁷ *Regimento(s)*: It is the colonial legal term used to designate commands and laws, also called *ordenanças*. Authoritative decrees, governmental laws and directions were set forth by the local authority based on the *estatutos*, *regulamentos*, and *leis* from the Crown. In the Portuguese territories, before the Iberian Union, the laws and commandments were established based on the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (1521) and the *Regimento dos Capitães-Mores*. After 1580, the Portuguese Crown and its subjects and territorial assets passed to Spanish control, the period called Iberian Union, and the laws followed the ordinances from the Spanish king. See Luís Costa e Sousa, *A Arte na Guerra: A Arquitetura dos Campos de Batalha no Portugal de Quinhentos*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Tribuna da História, 2008) and António da Silva Rego, *Portuguese colonization in the sixteenth century: a study of the royal ordinances (regimentos)*. (1959; repr., Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, 1965). See also Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Governo dos Reis Espanhóis (1580-1640) Vol 4 of História de Portugal*. 10 vols. (Lisbon, Portugal: Verbo, 1979) and Lyle N. McAlister. *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

the interest of defending the area which was under constant Dutch attack. Since 1630, in the State of Brazil, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco. In the Province of Maranhão, which Madrid strategically separated from Brazil in 1621, Ceará was invaded. To the people of Maranhão worried about the Dutch invasions, Noronha explained that the expedition had a crucial objective. It was an excellent chance to make *resgates*, a euphemistic way to say that they would apprehend Indigenous people to work as slaves for the colonists, who were dependent on indigenous labor and expertise for almost everything from building to fishing, hunting, collecting or producing food.

At a high cost to Spain, the expedition's most obvious consequence was to transfer the effective and political control of the area around the main hydrographical channel of the region, the Amazon River, to Portugal.⁸ The journey allowed for extensive geographical description of the people and the land along the Amazon River. Such knowledge helped the establishment of Portuguese colonist settlements. Practical knowledge about the location of the rivers, fauna, flora, and most of all information about the Natives facilitated the economic and political control of the area and the consequent institutional gains to the Portuguese local government and to Lisbon. Finally, in terms of a geopolitical ideology, the representation in historical documents of the geographical knowledge obtained helped to consolidate the expulsion of the Dutch, French and British from the area nearby the river, another major achievement of the expedition.

⁸ See Tadeu Valdir Freitas de Rezende, "A conquista e a ocupação da Amazônia brasileira no período colonial: a definição das fronteiras." (PhD diss., University of São Paulo, 2006).

Figure 1.1_ Detail of the Atlantic coast, Sebastião Lopes, 1558.



Source: Lucinda Saragoça, *Feliz Lusitânia*, fig 1.

This thesis assumes that the knowledge produced through this expedition became one of the key sources for the representation of Portuguese political control over large parts of the Amazon region. On the way to Quito, the expedition collected and mapped detailed geographical information necessary to take possession of the land and its people. Moreover, on its way back to Maranhão the expedition performed an official act of possession and left small but important settlements at strategic sites.⁹ Finally, as stated before, the knowledge produced was used to historically prove and corroborate Portuguese, and later Brazilian, claims of the territory. I argue that “Western” apprehension of the official chronicles implicitly comprised an ongoing subjugation of specific indigenous groups and their territories. In other words, European contact with the Indigenes was assumed as a self-evident incorporation of the lands and the people into the European political domain.¹⁰ Analyzing the extant archival material it is possible to conclude that the Teixeira Expedition launched the representation of the Amazon region as a Portuguese (and later a Brazilian) territory.

This Master’s thesis investigates the 1637-39 Teixeira’s expedition. Specifically, it analyzes how this expedition produced the geographical knowledge necessary to

⁹ Document transcription “Translado do auto de posse, em nome de Filipe III pela coroa de Portugal, das terras localizadas defronte da embocadura do rio do Ouro, onde seria fundada uma povoação denominada franciscana, [Brasil, 16 de Agosto de 1939]” in Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia" aos confins da Amazônia, 1615-62*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Edições Cosmos and Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000), 317.

¹⁰ For further theoretical discussion on this subject see Edward Said. *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). Also see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

perform territorial control over the region.¹¹ This thesis uses historical geography and Foucault's theoretical framework to expound on the relationship between knowledge and power.¹² It analyzes primary sources about this expedition to show how knowledge was an essential tool of the discursive construction of the Amazon Natives, undermining their cultural landscapes and initiating the process by which geographical knowledge could yield European territorial power.

¹¹ To understand such process is, however, a long pursuit, therefore, this thesis is still an initial research addressing the question on how this expedition produced the geographical knowledge. In sum, it discusses the type of knowledge obtained in this expedition, looking at the very beginning of the process by which geographical knowledge became power.

¹² For further discussion on geography, power, and geopolitics see Yves Lacoste, *A geografia: isso serve, em primeiro lugar, para fazer a Guerra*. 4th Ed translated by Maria Cecilia Franca from the original *La Géographie ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre*. (Campinas, Brazil: Papirus, 1997)., Michel Foucault. "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon (ed.). *Michel Foucault. Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings: 1972-1977*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) p. 77. Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, by Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), Antonio Carlos Robert Moraes, *Ideologias geográficas: espaço, cultura e política no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1988).

Historiography and Sources¹³

Previous scholars of the Teixeira expedition have largely focused on the travelogue character of the journey.¹⁴ A few researchers used the chronicles as a source for ethnographical and demographical information on the exploration on the Amazon River valley in the colonial period.¹⁵ Often, the expedition also appears as a narrative of nationalistic history.¹⁶ Yet, most frequently, the Portuguese expedition is a marginal

¹³ For further classical historiography about Brazil during the XVII century see Alice Piffer Canabrava “Roteiro sucinto do desenvolvimento da historiografia brasileira” in Sérgio Buarque, Alice Piffer Canabrava, and Nícia Villela Luz. (coord.), *Introdução ao estudo da história do Brasil*. (Report presented at the I Encontro Internacional de Estudos Brasileiros of the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, September 13 a 25, 1971), 9. Canabrava presents an extensive historiography on classical authors such as: José Honório Rodrigues, Serafim Leite, Claude d’Abeville, Afonso de E. Taunay, Varnhagen, Capistrano de Abreu, J. Pandiá Calógeras, J.F. de Almeida Prado, Otávio Tarquínio de Sousa, Roberto Simonsen, Caio Prado Jr., Richard Graham, F. Mauro, C.R. Boxer, A.K. Manchester, J.F. Normano, R. Morse, S. Stein, Dauril Aldrin, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, Stuart B. Schwartz. Those classical authors presented important biographical data and texts from historical actors, who participated in the first phases of colonization like Luís Figueira, Pero Rodrigues, Christoval de Acuña, Samuel Fritz, and colonists like Martins Soares Moreno, Diogo de Campos Moreno, Alexandre de Moura, Manuel de Sousa e Sá, Simão Estácio da Silveira, Maurício Heriarte, the Jesuit João Felipe Betendorf, who produced chronics about the State of Maranhão mostly from 1621 to 1698.

¹⁴ See Anthony Smith, *Explorers of the Amazon* (1990; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), and Helen Constance Palmatary, *The river of the Amazons: its discovery and early exploration, 1500-1743* (New York: Carlton Press, 1965).

¹⁵ See Donald D. Brand. “A Brief History of Anthropology in Brazil,” *New Mexico Anthropologist*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1941): 99-150, and Linda A. Newson. “The Population of the Amazon Basin in 1492: A View from the Ecuadorian Headwaters,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1996): 5-26. See also Fernando Santos, *Etnohistoria de la Alta Amazonia: siglo XV-XVIII*. (Quito, Ecuador: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1992).

¹⁶ Arthur Cézar Ferreira Reis, *A política de Portugal no valle (sic) Amazônico* (Belém, Brazil: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1993)., Ernesto Cruz, *Historia do Pará*, Vol. 1 (Belém, Brazil: Universidade do Pará, 1963)., Raul Reyes y Reyes “Prólogo” in Raul Reyes y Reyes (ed.) *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio del Amazonas por el P. Cristobal de Acuña, al cual fue por la provincia de Quito el año de 1639* vol. 4 of Biblioteca Amazonas (Quito, Ecuador: Instituto Ecuatoriano de Estudios del Amazonas)., João Renôr Ferreira de Carvalho. *Momentos de história da Amazônia* (Imperatriz, MA, Brazil: Ética, 1998), Luiz Lobo, *História Militar do Pará* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943)., Afrônio Peixoto, *Martim Soares Moreno, fundador do Seará (sic), iniciador do Maranhão e do Pará, herói da restauração do Brasil, contra franceses e holandeses* (Lisbon, Portugal: Divisão de publicações e bibliotecas, agência geral das colônias, 1940).

comment on Spanish and French expedition stories on the Amazon.¹⁷ To the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch, this Portuguese expedition prevented their commercial interests in the Amazon.¹⁸ Most of the scholarly materials deal with studies in particular translations, re-editions or critical editions of the original sources.¹⁹ Many of the studies about this expedition concentrated on two extremes of the scholarly spectrum. Highly specialized editions focus on the documents *per se* in detriment to the many possible connections assessing this historical event in terms of the social, political and economic history of the Amazon region.²⁰ They focus on compelling historical narratives that in one-way or another touched the story of the expedition, but they do not provide systematic analysis of the original documents.²¹ There are exceptions to these two extremes, but they often exemplify the strong influence of nationalism on institutional

¹⁷ John Michael Cohen, *Journeys down the Amazon: being the extraordinary adventures and achievements of the early explorers* (London: C. Knight, 1975). Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago : Chicago University Press, 2008).

¹⁸ José Manuel Santos Pérez and Pere Petit. (ed.) *La Amazonia brasileña en perspectiva histórica*. (Salamanca, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006)., André Ferrand de Almeida “Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon.” *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 55 (2003): 103-12., José Ribamar Bessa Freire, et al. (coord.) *A Amazônia colonial (1616-1798)* (4nd ed., Manaus, Brazil: Editora Metro Cúbico, 1994)., Sarah Tyacke. “English Charting of the River Amazon c. 1595-c. 1630,” *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 32 (1980):73-89., George Edmundson. “The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century. Part I of Dutch Trade on the Amazon,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 72 (Oct., 1903): 642-663., George Edmundson, “Early Relations of the Manóas with the Dutch, 1606-1732,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 82 (Apr., 1906): 229-253.

¹⁹ Márcos Jiménez de la Espada (ed.) *Viaje del capitán Pedro Teixeira, aguas arriba del río de las Amazonas (1638-1639)* (Madrid: Impr. de Fortanet, 1889)., Rafael Díaz Maderuelo (ed), *La Aventura del Amazonas by Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedrarias de Almesto, Alonso de Rojas* (Madrid, Spain: Información y Revistas, S. A.,1986)., C. Melo-Leitão (ed), *Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas: Gaspar de Carvajal; Alonso de Rojas, Cristóbal de Acuña*. (São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1941) (v. 203).; Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas* Ed. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque, and Gonzalo Santonja (Pamplona, Spain: Universidad de Navarra, Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2009).

history during the first half of the twentieth century.²² Mostly there is a lack of a systematic analysis of the documents in terms of the geographical and historical consequences to the Amazon region. Finally, it is important to mention the scholarship that in strict sense does not intend to work with the Teixeira expedition, but that includes some primary sources and secondary material directly related to the expedition and its context.²³

There are three main primary sources about the expedition. The first source is Pedro Teixeira's report, where he provides the geographical knowledge acquired along the trip. The second one is the Alonso de Rojas report, a hybrid document mixing the knowledge of the main pilot of the expedition, Bento da Costa, with Rojas's opinions and recollections about other texts such as religious tracts. Finally, the third source is Christóval de Acuña's report, the most well known document about the expedition. Teixeira's report to the Audience of Quito is in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon.

Teixeira's description is from January 2 of 1639 and is written as a report to the

²² See George Edmudson, "The Voyage of Pedro Teixeira on the Amazon from Pará to Quito and Back, 1637- 39" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. 3 (1920): 52-71. In this paper, Edmudson presents an analysis of manuscript reports from the British Museum and Torre do Tombo, in which he found some interesting information about the pilot involved in the expedition. Also see Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira à Luz de Novos Documentos" in vol.3 of *Anais do IV Congresso de História Nacional, 21-28 Abril de 1949*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950). Cortesão presented key historical documents and proposed an historical analysis challenging the Spanish historiography on the topic. See as well, Anete Costa Ferreira. *A Expedição de Pedro Teixeira: A sua importância para Portugal e o Futuro da Amazônia*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Ésquilo, 2000). In this book, Ferreira intends to work with the expedition, and presents the transcription of Teixeira's report and other important documents related to the expedition. However, she does not present a penetrating critical historical analysis of the event, maintaining a strong nationalistic approach, which characterizes the works of Edmudson and Cortesão as well.

²³ For instance, *Novo Éden* by Papavero et al., 2000, has all the main primary sources and many contemporary accounts of earlier and later expeditions. Also *Da "Feliz Lusitânia" aos confins da Amazônia (1615- 62)* by Lucinda Saragoça, 2000, not only has Teixeira's report but many other documents related to the context of the expedition.

government in Quito after the first half of the expedition. It lacks details in comparison to Acuña's report. It is a succinct and straightforward document highlighting the potential of the region, the major physical and demographic features, and the strategic measures that should be taken to guarantee the conquest of the Amazon River area. In this thesis, I used the first published version of this document transcribed by Jaime Cortesão in 1949.

The second source is also from Quito and reflects the information gathered in the first half of the trip. It is the most controversial source, sent from D. Martín de Saavedra y Guzmán, the governor and captain of the Nuevo Reyno de Granada, to Madrid in 1639, and entitled *Descubrimiento del Rio de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias*. This document is composed of three distinct sets of documents (two 1639 letters to the Spanish Crown, and a copy of a 1595 Royal Charter of Phillip II of Spain) and the *Relación del Descubrimiento del rio de las Amazonas, Hoy S. Francisco del Quito* (report), to which is attached the *Declaración del mapa donde esta pintado* (map). The report is attributed to the Jesuit Alonso Rojas from Quito. However, until 1889 the whole document was mistakenly attributed to D. Martín de Saavedra y Guzmán because of the letters.²⁴ This mistake may also be attributed to the fact that, throughout the text, Rojas referred to the major pilot descriptions and map and as well as to the lack of a close reading of the actual text. The factual material was rather a transcription of the pilot of the expedition's notes to which Rojas added secondary sources and his opinions. In this

²⁴ Márcos Jiménez de la Espada seems to be the first modern scholar to rectify this mistake and to publish this account with its map and other documents. Starting with Espada, many scholars have assumed Rojas to be a Jesuit based on the characteristics of the text and because Acuña copied several paragraphs from this account without any reservation.

thesis, I used the map published by Márcos Jiménez de la Espada in 1889 and the text edited by Rafael Díaz Maderuelo in 1986.²⁵

Published in Madrid in 1641 the *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas* by the Jesuit Christóbal de Acuña (1597-1675?) was originally composed of an analytical description of the expedition, certification documents and a map, which seems to be missing in the remaining archives.²⁶ His report includes scientific knowledge such as the course of the river, its depth, extension and width. Some paragraphs from Acuña's are very close to the text of the early versions, especially the one from Rojas indicating that at least part of the version published in Madrid, in fact, derives from the reports produced in Quito. However, his report is more comprehensive on the available resources and on the human landscape in the Amazon valley. Acuña reports on specific indigenous groups, the fertility of the land and its crops, and on types of plants and fishes like the electric eel. In sum, he reproduces a large part of the information on navigation and geography from Teixeira and Rojas, but he describes the river and the Native population

²⁵ Royal Charter of Phillip II of Spain [1595] translation to Portuguese in C. Melo-Leitão (ed.) *Descobrimientos do rio das Amazonas by Gaspar de Carvajal; Alonso de Rojas; Cristóbal de Acuña* V.203 (São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia editora nacional, 1941), and the Spanish edition in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo (ed), *La Aventura del Amazonas by Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedrarias de Alместo, Alonso de Rojas* (Madrid, Spain: Información y Revistas, 1986).

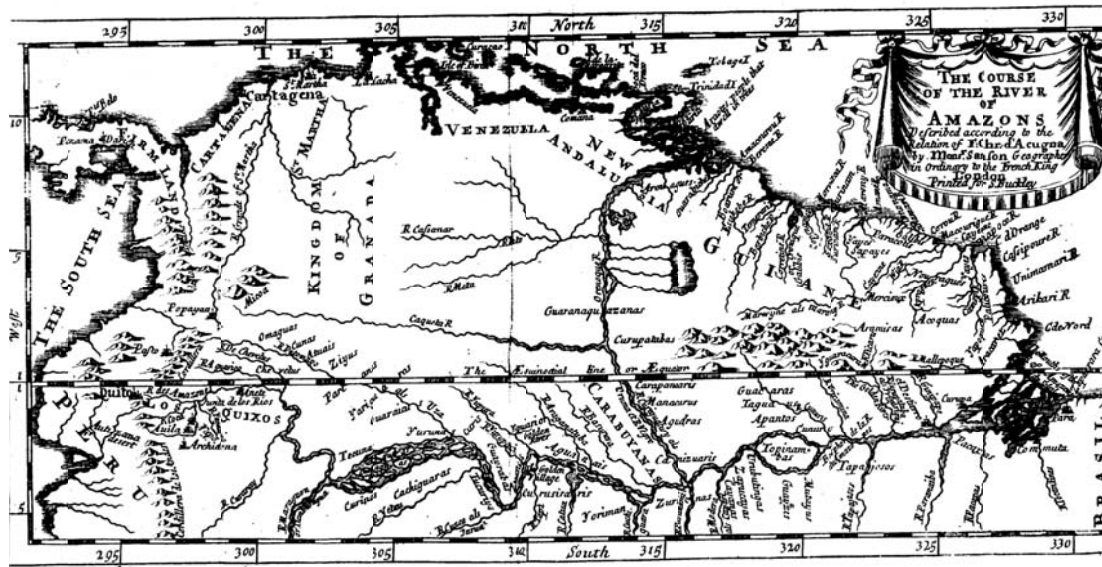
²⁶ The document in Spanish can be available on-line. See Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*. (Madrid, 1641) 103pp. In: *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3801100932&srchtp=a&ste=14>>. (accessed November 09, 2009). See the French translation C. Acuña, *Relation de la Riviere des Amazones traduite par feu Mr de Gomberville de l'Académie Française. Avec un dissertation sur la riviere des Amazones pour servir de Preface*. 4 parts in 2 vols, Claude Barbin, (ed.) (Paris: 1682.), 206) with alleged map of the Amazon River attributed to Sanson d'Abbeville. In: *American Libraries* <<http://www.archive.org/details/expeditionstov00markrich>> (accessed November 09, 2009). For the English translation that has a map attached see *Cristóbal Acuña*, (Buckley, ed. 1698) In: EEBO Early English Books Online, which is a copy of Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/>>. (accessed November 09, 2009).

in more detail. It is evident that this expedition touches the history of natural and scientific knowledge and how such knowledge was produced and circulated in the Atlantic World.²⁷ Moreover, the expedition also raises questions regarding the incorporation of indigenous peoples into relations of power manifested and enabled by discourse, and the early European ideological interventions to subjugate and rewrite the histories of indigenous people.²⁸

²⁷This expedition could be analyzed under the exegesis of science and circulation of knowledge in the Atlantic World, as it has been proposed in recent years. See also Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to write the history of the New World: histories, epistemologies, and identities in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001)., Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, empire, and nation explorations of the history of science in the Iberian world*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006)., Daniela Bleichmar et al. (ed) *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese empires, 1500-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009)., Antonio Barreira-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2006)., Ralph Bauer. *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press 2003)., Linda Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004)., James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew (ed.), *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008)., Harold John Cook, *Matters of exchange: commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)., Peter Mancall. *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English American* (2007), Nicolás Wey Gómez, *The tropics of empire: why Columbus sailed south to the Indies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2008).

²⁸ For inspiring historical analysis on the discursive representation of Indigenous people see the work of Seth Garfield in *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937–1988* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001)., and Diego Souza de Paiva. *Um espelho em construção: O Índio na crônica de Jean de Léry (século XVI)* (Natal, Brazil: Sebo Vermelho, 2008), and Joyce E. Chaplin *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Figure 1.2 Maps attached to the English translation of Acuña's report. This 1698 English edition by Buckley included a map based on Acuña's description of the Amazon Basin.



Source: Cristóbal Acuña, (Buckley, ed. 1698) in EEBO Early English Books Online, copy of Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Methodology

This Master's Thesis is written from the perspective of the academic field of Historical Geography.²⁹ In terms of methodological approach, this thesis follows the pathway of historical geography proposed by Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, who developed a landmark theoretical approach on historical geography to study Brazilian

²⁹ For classical theoretical discussion on Historical Geography see D. Brooks Green Ed. *Historical Geography: A methodological Portrayal* (Maryland: Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, inc., 1991) François de Dainville, *La Géographie des Humanistes* (Geneve: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), Alan R. H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) D.W. Meinig "Geographical analysis of imperial expansion," in Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge eds, *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1982). 71-78 H.C. Darby *The relations of History and Geography: Studies in England, France and the United States* (Exeter, Devon, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

territorial formation.³⁰ For the purpose of this Thesis, geography is defined as a factual-material reality that can be academically studied, on one hand, by assessing how beings and objects are distributed upon the earth (“material geography”), and on the other hand, by analyzing the representations societies create about such reality.³¹

Following this theoretical approach, in this Thesis I agree with Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, who argues that the object of study of the geographical representations is the material geography. Moraes proposes that the geographical discourses, as the landscapes to which they refer, vary from place, time and society because they are symbolic constructions tied to the sensitivity, standard mentality, and episteme of the time in which they were created. Such representations refer to a material reality, as well as to the symbolic implementation of meanings that becomes attached to the geographical space. Material and representational geography are connected to each other because the material and symbolic interests of societies have a dialectical relationship. Such a relationship “produces” the object of geography as an academic discipline: the geographical space. Combining Milton Santos and Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes definitions, in this Thesis geographical space is sketched as a complex of objects and

³⁰ Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, *Bases da Formação territorial do Brasil: O território colonial brasileiro no “longo” século XVI* (São Paulo, Hucitec, 2000)., Antonio Carlos Robert Moraes, *Território e história no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec; Annablume, 2002) Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, *Geografia Histórica do Brasil: cinco ensaios, uma proposta e uma crítica* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2009)., Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes and Wanderley Messias da Costa, *Geografia Crítica: A Valorização do Espaço*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1984)

³¹ “A geografia ... emerge em todas as épocas históricas, pois refere-se à relação... dos seres humanos com o meio que os abriga.” Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, “Geografia, História e História da Geografia” in “Histórias do pensamento geográfico: Instituições, Institucionalização e Produção do Conhecimento” Antônio Carlos Robert de Moraes et al. (eds.) *Terra Brasilis, Revista de História do Pensamento Geográfico no Brasil*. Ano I, No.2 (Jul/Dez 2000): 129.

actions made by historical actors in their social actions upon the earth as a material stage.³²

Taking historical geography as a methodological apparatus to understand territorial formation, I agree with Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, who proposes a spatial analysis based on historical process. This thesis shows that the Teixeira expedition was a specific instance of appropriation, transformation and construction of territory, exposing the spatial dimension of the Portuguese colonial legacy. In addition, this expedition unmasks the process of colonization through its premise of effectively being able to regulate the use of space and resources therein. The Teixeira expedition unveils material and representational aspects of the European settlement and occupation projects on the New World, and it pictures the territorial disputes, which would become the reference for future South American nationalities. In this sense, in broader methodological perspective, I agree with Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, and before him Caio Prado Jr, who advanced the concept of *sentido da colonização*, which in my opinion suggests that the meanings and the processes in which colonization took place in society and space may still affect and influence the societies we observe today.³³

However, regarding the scale of analysis of the expedition reports, I focused attention on

³² Milton Santos “Sociedade e espaço: a formação social como teoria e como método,” *Boletim Paulista de Geografia*, (São Paulo: AGB, 1977), 81- 99. Milton Santos, *Por uma nova geografia: da crítica da geografia a uma geografia crítica* (1978; repr., São Paulo, Brazil: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 20002).

³³ See “Sentido da Colonização” in Caio Prado Jr, *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo, Colônia* 20thed(1942 repr.; São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1987), and Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, *Base Formação territorial do Brasil*.

a methodological approach proposed by Quentin Skinner, who argues that ideas and concepts must be understood in their own lexical and social historical context- as the actors may have seen themselves and executed their actions.³⁴

Therefore, the history of the documents is considered in the assessment of the history as evidence of the context. The textual interpretation presented many challenges, such as nouns and verbs that have inconsistent spellings as well as dates. The dissimilarity from one source to another was a constant in these documents.³⁵ Most of them were transcriptions of manuscript documents to which I did not have access. As typed transcripts, I assume that those documents are at least one step farther removed from the original even though I believe the transcribers were familiar with the historical material. Throughout this thesis often the names of Native groups and regions are shown as they appear in the archival sources used. I considered the average for the Spanish league to be 2.6 of the English mile, and other data of measurement are provided along the text.³⁶ Though there are some names spelled as in the documents, to avoid confusion

³⁴ For further theoretical discussion on this issue see Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in History of Ideas" *History and Theory*, Vol.8, No.1 (1969). Skinner contends that texts, ideas, and concepts, should be analyzed on the terms of lexical and social context of them own time. In other words, an internal analysis of the texts are not enough, and the application of the concept of influence on texts must be considered very carefully and in terms of linguistical and social contrains of the time the original text was produced. See also Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946 repr.; New York, Oxford University Press, 1956), L. Guelke, "Historical Geography and Collingwood's theory of historical knowing" in Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge. (eds.) *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 189-196.

³⁵ In this thesis, often I adopted to reproduce the resemblance of these inconsistances of the original sources.

³⁶ Maria de Fátima Wade, *The Native Americans of the Texas Edwards Plateau, 1582-1799* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

this thesis mostly adopts the contemporary Brazilian Portuguese versions of those names.³⁷

Finally, as a note to the reader, it is important to consider while reading this thesis that the archival material used is fragmentary and reflects the biases the Europeans had toward Native societies and practices. The information about the geography of rivers and ethnography of Native groups is framed and transmitted within the historical context of the period. Therefore, the information provided on these Natives and the geography associated with their sites cannot be fully reconstructed. Instead, what is provided is more like a mosaic in which we can discern some patterns, while still missing many others that might have made sense to the historical actors but that we can barely grasp today.³⁸

Outline

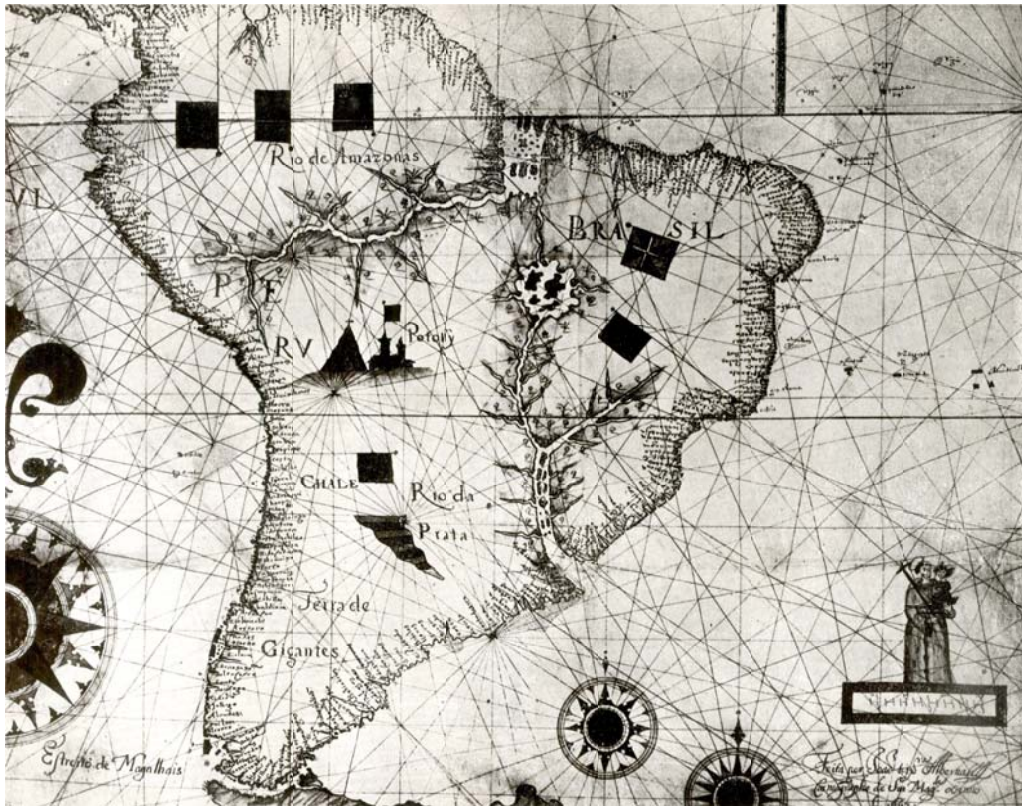
This Master's thesis presents an analysis of the three official reports on the expedition: Teixeira and Rojas', and contrasts them to a concise analysis of Acuña's report, the most disseminated and reproduced account about Teixeira's expedition. The Thesis is divided into three chapters. In chapter one, the thesis examines Teixeira's report. In chapter two, it looks at Rojas' report. Chapters one and two are close readings of Teixeira and Rojas' accounts. Chapter three discusses Acuña's report, highlighting the ethnographical and geopolitical content of the text. By going step by step through the

³⁷ Even though, for the Spanish sources many of the names were kept in Spanish.

³⁸ Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in History of Ideas."

descriptions of the three reports the reader will visualize how geographical and ethnography descriptions were being transformed into knowledge to be incorporated into a type of discourse bringing the Amazon region into the “European” territorial system. The final chapter unveils important differences between the first two reports and Acuña’s. The passages from Teixeira, Rojas and Acuña expose what Michel de Foucault called the *nexus* between knowledge and power generated through authoritative narratives. The objective is to understand how the narrative about the expedition was (re) constructed, absorbed, and operationalized in the European discourse.

Figure 1.3_ Detail of the Atlantic coast, João Teixeira Albernás, 1667.



Source: António Bião, Hernâni Cidade, Manuel Múrias (eds.) Vol.3, *História da Expansão Portuguesa no mundo* (Lisbon, Portugal: Editorial ática, 1940), after page136.

Chapter Two: On the way to Quito

In the late 1500s, talks between Spain and its Viceroyalty of Peru show that the use of the Amazon River as a possible via of communication was a big concern. The dialogue between the Spanish Crown and its representatives in the New World colonies reiterated that the Amazon River as means of communication between Brazil and Peru should be avoided. In 1580, the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were joined under Phillip II of Spain.¹ The assets of both crowns were to be governed by one leader and his bureaucracy.² Yet, it is hard to believe that centuries of animosity between Portuguese

¹ The Iberian Peninsula was ruled under the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Valencia and Portugal, and even the autonomous provinces of Catalonia and Andalusia were joined together through the institution of the Castile monarchy. As Perez Zagorin observes “the challenge for such a ruler was that these territories were in legal reality separate bodies, different entities bound together through the 'supra-territorial' royal institutions of the Spanish crown, using Castilian nobility as a ruling caste.” In: *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660. Volume II: Provincial rebellion: Revolutionary civil wars, 1560–1660*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 3-4. Among the Portuguese authors, it is common that each kingdom as a political unity be designated as, for example: Spanish Crown and Portuguese Crown. J.H. Elliot. *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statemain in an Age of Decline*. (New Heaven & London: Yale University Press, 1986).

² In addition, some authors highlight that in theory, each kingdom was supposed to have different taxation and military arrangements. However, the privileged position of the Castilian nobility at all senior levels of royal appointment was a contentious issue in the peripheral kingdoms and provinces of the Empire. See: Jean-Frederic Schaub. *Portugal na monarquia hispânica 1580-1640* (Lisbon, Portugal: Livros Horizontes, 2001).

“Felipe IV de Espanha era Felipe III de Portugal, distinção simbólica que exprimia a separação administrativa entre as duas coroas e remontava ao estatuto, conferido pelo primeiro dos Felipes, nas Cortes de Tomar, em 1581, Segundo o qual Portugal, embora sob o mesmo cetro, formava reino à parte à metrópole, quer no ultramar, continuando a gozar das leis, foros e costumes proprios e a ser governado por um Conselho e funcionários nacionais, Desde 1581 ate 1641 os Felipes passaram a ser os reis duma monarquia dualista, dentro da qual foi possivel aos Portugueses, se não manter a independência política, guardar intacta a sua fisionomia nacional e a esperança da estauração à sombra da ampla autonomia administrativa de que gozavam por direito expresso. Foi na última década do periodo Filipino, entre 1630 e 1640, coincidindo com as invasões e conquistas holandesas no Brasil, a que o governo Filipino prestou remissa atenção e deu remédio ineficaz e quando o conde-duque de Olivares ensaiou as primeiras e brutais tentativas de anexação pura e simples da coroa de Portugal à de Castela,” Jaime Cortesão, “O significado

and Spaniards would cease in that royal political act. Even in the King's heart this union did not seem very solid. A Royal Charter to the Viceroy of Peru from 1595 clarifies the matter:

Considering the notices I received from you and other heads of provinces, I learn that D. Lourenço Suarez de Figueroa, governor of Santa Cruz [de la Sierra- today's Bolivia, and at that time part of Peru] pierced the borders of Brazil. Figueroa said trade between Brazil and those borders is likely to happen because the pathways are easy and appropriate. However, it is hugely inconvenient. These pathways are going to open the door to the Portuguese to trade their goods and slaves in the area and we are not going to be able to control or avoid it because the territory is so vast. The Portuguese land is poor in contrast to ours which is rich; therefore, we should not doubt that all people want to enter and to enjoy it. In addition, the Portuguese are going to leave the coasts unattended, attracting the enemies to the convenience of that via. Furthermore, we should prevent these [colonies] from joining. Each one should conserve its own land. I received advices from very careful people on Spiritual as well as on State affairs and I have decided, I command you to block the Portuguese passage through the borders. The Portuguese must remain ignorant and prevented from crossing the area. Do not allow communication between the borders. Pay attention to it - do not allow the discovery to progress. Soon, I will let you know how to solve this problem. Madrid 1595, El-Rey.³

Preparing the stage

Though mistrust remained between the Portuguese and the Spanish, in the early seventeenth century the Spanish bureaucracy changed its tactics. The Crowns of Portugal and Spain were united, and as the time passed the unification appeared to be irreversible thus rendering prevention of the Portuguese from entering Spanish territory less necessary. As Spain's internal expenditures continued to grow rampantly, the Spanish Crown had a general policy toward Portugal: to use its military power and resources to

da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira à Luz de Novos Documentos" in vol.3 of *Anais do IV Congresso de História Nacional, 21-28 Abril de 1949*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950), 179.

³ My translation of an excerpt of the Royal Charter from the King [Phillip II of Spain] to the Viceroy of Peru Marquez de Cañete [García Hurtado de Mendoza, 5th Marquis of Cañete], [Madrid, July 26, 1595] Document attached to the letters of D. Martin Saavedra y Guzman to the King and to the president of the Indies Council between May to June 1639 preceding the Rojas's report in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo (ed), *La Aventura del Amazonas by Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedrarias de Almesto, Alonso de Roxas* (Madrid, Spain: Información y Revistas, S. A., 1986), 229-230.

defend Spanish interests. After the unification of the two crowns under Phillip II this policy started to be applied in Europe when the Portuguese military was sent to control rebellions in the Spanish domains.⁴ In 1598 Phillip II of Spain died and his son assumed the throne. Under Phillip III of Spain [II of Portugal]⁵ such policy was applied throughout the Spanish Empire.⁶ The Portuguese Empire and army were incorporated into the most bloody Spanish battles to save the Spanish Crown expenses in military personnel.⁷

This approach placed many of the Spanish Empire's heavy costs on the shoulders of its submissive kingdoms⁸ and it created resentment among the Portuguese elites, who felt their own imperial interests, especially in the East Indies, being disregarded.⁹ This

⁴ Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict*. (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005) J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716*. (London: Penguin, 1963). Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Governo dos Reis Espanhóis (1580-1640)* Vol 4 of História de Portugal. 10 vols. (Lisbon, Portugal: Verbo, 1979).

⁵ See Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa, *España y sus tratados internacionales, 1516-1700* (Pamplona, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2006).

⁶ See Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598–1648*. (London: Fontana, 1984) and *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁷ Even though the agreement Phillip II signed to receive the crown of Portugal was supposed to prevent the assets like the Overseas Empire, army, and bureaucracy of the Crown of Portugal from merging with the Spanish Crown assets. However, this process occurred rapidly and without visible benefits to the business sectors of the alarmed Portuguese elite that saw this increasingly as the Spanish bureaucracy takeover of Portugal. The Portuguese historiography on the subject agrees that from Phillip II to Phillip III to Phillip IV of Spain, known in Portugal by the titles of Phillip I, Phillip II and Phillip III of Portugal, this process to absorb the Portuguese Crown into the Spanish Crown increased. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil (1580-1668)* (Lisbon, Portugal: Colibri, 1994).

⁸ Carlo M. Cipolla, (ed.) *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. (London, England: Fontana, 1974).

⁹ The interests of the Portuguese Empire were disregarded with several key losses to the English and to the Dutch in Asia. Each crown retained its assets and interests because in the treaty Phillip II of Spain signed each crown continued to be a different political unit governed by one king. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil (1580-1668)* (Lisbon, Portugal: Colibri, 1994).

policy to use the Portuguese manpower was also applied in South America, an area of great concern to the Spanish Crown. In contrast to Portugal, where large part of the colonial revenues (until 1700s) derived from enterprises in the East, the Spanish commerce and enterprises relied on the West Indies, in particular New Spain and Peru, Spain's main sources of wealth. In South America, an area of enormous importance for the Spanish treasury, the Crown set the background for such policy to take effect between 1618 and 1621, when it split the government of Maranhão from the colonial state of Brazil.¹⁰ Meanwhile, in 1621, the Royal Audience and Chancellery of Quito, a major city under the jurisdiction of Peru, received an order to establish convenient conditions for the river's "discovery."¹¹

In contrast to the 1595 letter of Philip II of Spain commanding the Spanish side of South America to prevent the further discovery of the Amazon River, in particular because of the Portuguese interests involved, after 1618 some trusted individuals in the Portuguese nobility started to receive orders to pursue the Amazon River's discovery in order to protect the river's mouth from constant French, Dutch and English invasions. For

¹⁰ Document transcription "Filipe III nomeia Francisco Coelho de Carvalho para o cargo de governador e capitao-geral do Maranhão e Pará. ... 'Dom Fellippe et cetera faco saber aos que esta Carta Patente virem que eu ove por bem erigir en governo distinto e separado do Brazil as terras de Maranham e Para com as fortalezas que ha nellas pera as cousas daquella' [issued by Christhovão Soarez Lisbon, 23 September, 1923] in Saragoça, *Feliz Lusitânia*, 271.

¹¹ The head of government in Peru was Lima. However, the Royal Audience of Quito and Bogotá holded considerable geopolitical power in the region. In 1621, the King dispatched to the Audience of Quito an order to establish the conditions for the discovery, to be made under the care of Vincente de los Reyes Villalobos, Governor and Captain of Quixos, jurisdiction of Quito, yet that order brought no results because meanwhile Villalobos had been replaced. See "Memorial" in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nvevo descvbrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas, Sabin Americana*.

instance, in 1626, the major-captain of the captaincy of Pará [in Maranhão], Bento Maciel Parente, obtained a license for an expedition to explore and “clean” the area of invaders.¹² However, the proposed expedition was delayed because Parente was soon sent to perform similar duties on the coast to combat the Dutch invasions in Brazil. In this period, Portugal and the Netherlands were formally part of the Spanish Empire, but in the Netherlands, the seven north provinces continued their struggle for independence.¹³ The Spanish Crown was aware these nations resented Spanish control, particular in terms of public administration, taxation and religious freedom.¹⁴ However, the Portuguese-- because of religion, language and culture, or maybe because they were highly in need in some parts of the Empire and were still obedient subjects-- were considered a lower status (but closer) relatives.

In 1634, Spain dispatched an express command to the Portuguese Governor of the recently created colonial state of Maranhão, Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, to continue that project (to “explore” and “clean the area” from enemies).¹⁵ Nevertheless, attempts to proceed with that project failed. In 1637, the Franciscan friars Domingo de Brieva and

¹² In 1626, another order was dispatched in favor of Bento Maciel Parente, Portuguese by birth. Parente was to begin the discovery from the provinces of the mouth of Amazon River. Yet that was not done because Parente was ordered to do combat in Pernambuco. In 1634, an order was sent to Francisco Coello de Carvalho [Coelho de Carvalho] a Portuguese, who was then Governor of Marañon [Maranhão] and Pará, to proceed swiftly and with people of his confidence to make the discovery, but that also was not carried out. See Ibid.

¹³ The Seventeen Provinces were a union of states in the Low Countries originally held by the Dukes of Burgundy of the House of Valois (the area was united by the Duke in 1433) and later by the Habsburgs of Spain. In 1506, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and father of Phillip II of Spain, inherited the territories. In medieval Europe, the area was constituted by a number of duchies, counties and bishoprics, most of which were under the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁴ In December of 1640, Portugal also started its rebellion against Spanish rule.

¹⁵ See Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de la Amazonas, Sabin Americana*.

Andrés de Toledo ‘miraculously’ descended the river from Quito.¹⁶ This event not only proved that it was possible to reach Peru from the state of Maranhão, but also that it could be done quickly and safely. Taking that evidence as an opportunity to persuade the population to support an expedition, Jácome Raimundo de Noronha, who was the acting governor since the death of Carvalho, decided to launch an expedition to explore the upper course of the Amazon River to Quito. In Pará, the local citizens who were required to support the material efforts of the expedition did not agree with Noronha’s idea, but he sent the expedition anyway.

¹⁶ Quito was a Royal Audience with a President and Royal Council under the jurisdiction of the Vice-Kingdom of Peru. Nevertheless, the administration in Quito had considerable administrative autonomy due to its political and economic power.

Figure 2.1_ Sketch map of the Amazon River from Quito to Pará [May 22, 1637] and manuscript attached to Jácome Raimundo de Noronha letter, May 29, 1637.



Source: Antônio Bião, Hernâni Cidade, Manuel Múrias (Ed) Vol.3 *História da Expansão Portuguesa no mundo* (Lisbon: Editorial ática, 1940), after page 130.

The Dutch and other problems

People in Pará had good reasons to be skeptical about the adventure.¹⁷ They would have to release soldiers from the captaincy's security and fewer Portuguese would be available to defend them against possible Dutch, English, French, or indigenous attacks. Encounters between colonists and Indigenous people were very frequent and bloody. Knowing the villages were undefended, the 'bellicose Natives' could come after the colonists. In addition, fewer indigenous slaves would be available to plant, gather, and harvest food, to build houses, or even to die fighting against foreign invaders. Besides, previous expedition attempts had not succeeded in going up and down the Amazon River. The citizenry in Pará doubted the expedition would at least return the amount of resources it required. This wide-ranging expedition also did not appeal to the general population who thought it unlikely that the expedition would result in more slaves, gold, or any other tradable product. The expedition gains, if any, would benefit the political power of the crowns and of the religious institutions.¹⁸ As the Pará citizens saw it, short expeditions to the surrounding areas of the captaincy worked better and resulted in actual profits.

¹⁷ Maranhão e Grão-Pará was a state governed from its capital in São Luís, but its second major power was the captaincy of Pará (today's Belém do Pará) from where most of the resources for the expedition would come.

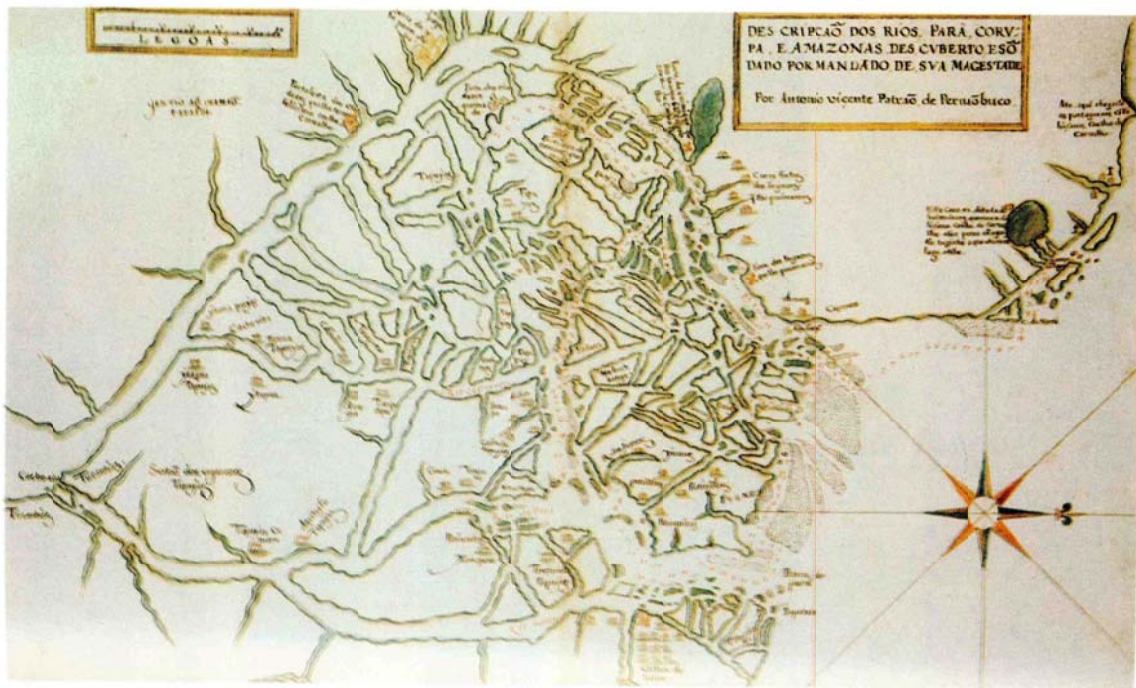
¹⁸ From 1580 to 1640, the period called Iberian Union, the King of Spain held the Crown of Portugal. Also, during this period, the religious orders like the Society of Jesus, the Franciscans, Carmelites and other orders, were in intense competition to spread their political-religious influence among the Catholic monarchies and their territories, especially in the New World. See Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Livraria Portugal, 1938).

Small-scale expeditions, *entradas*, were attractive to the elite in Maranhão. The most common goal of such *entradas* was to obtain Native captives. The *entradas* were military or private expeditions aiming to combat and preempt enemy threats. The region from Ceará to São Luís and Pará, which comprised the States of Maranhão, was actually re-taken from French, Dutch, and English invaders under this type of expedition. As Christóbal de Acuña, Jesuit priest who traveled with the expedition back from Quito to Maranhão would consider fair to say, the colonists many times claimed the indigenous violence as a justification for their own cruelty to the Natives. The enslavement of indigenous people in the area was one of the main sources of wealth. Slaves were a scarce and expensive resource, in particular in the recently conquered and underdeveloped area of the coast of Brazil and its partitioned state of Maranhão. Under the *Ordenanças*, a compilation of laws that regulated affairs in the Iberian territories, Native American enslavement was restricted to captives obtained in “just” wars; wars in which the colonists’ lives and the interests of the Empire were in danger due to the direct attack of the Natives, but the colonists often circumvented those restrictions. *Entradas* and expeditions were often “palliative” expressions to seize the Natives and to re-take areas under enemy possession. In 1637, to make an *entrada* in close proximity could be an attractive idea, but a large and distant expedition was not.

In 1624, the Dutch invaded Bahia. In 1628, they seized the annual Spanish treasure fleet and with the profits took over Pernambuco in 1630. Between 1634 and 1637, they already controlled the territory from Rio Grande do Norte in Brasil to Ceará in Maranhão. The Dutch seemed to be following the same path of conquest the Portuguese

had undertaken years before to conquer São Luís (1612), the capital of the Maranhão, from the French. Starting by gathering information in Salvador, they took possession of Pernambuco, and from there they departed to conquer the north of Brazil until they reached Maranhão. The worries of the people in Maranhão and Pará seem plausible since they remembered that the Portuguese conquest of Maranhão followed exactly that strategy with expeditions of conquest departing from Pernambuco. Could the Dutch copy the Portuguese path of conquest and go after Maranhão and reach Pará? People in Pará and Maranhão were of the opinion that was a good possibility. In 1641 the Dutch invasion of São Luis would prove they were right. (See figures 2.2 to 2.6).

Figure 2.2_ Portuguese Descriptive map of the Pará River, and the Amazon River [1623-24]. Legend states that Antônio Vicente de Cochado, *Patrão de Pernambuco* ordered those explorations.



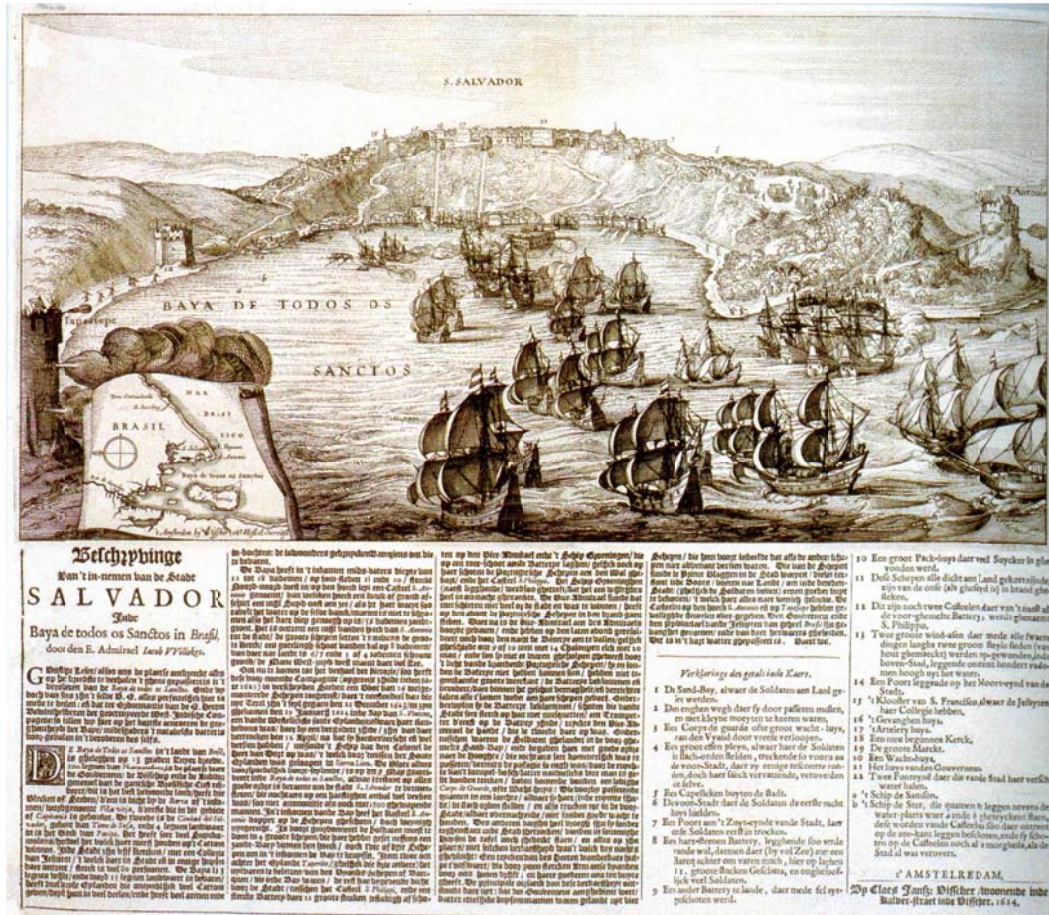
Source: Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia,"* fig.6.

Figure 2.3_ Sketch map showing the probable areas of the French, Dutch, and English attacks south-southeast and north- northwest from São Luís do Maranhão (see L, M, N, O, P, K, J, and I); the Portuguese head of government in São Luís do Maranhão (A) and the Spanish head of government in Lima (H); the Teixeira's expedition main navigation from Belém do Pará (B) to the Napo River area near (F) to Quito (G); the expedition navigation on the main course on the Amazon River from Gurupá near Cabo do Norte [Amapá] (C) to Iquitos (E).



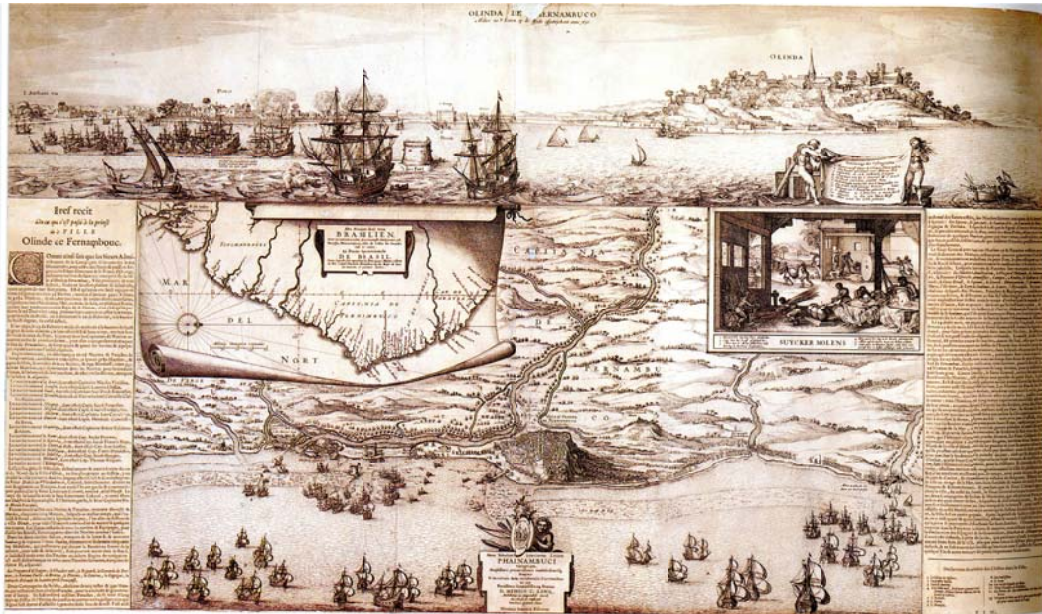
Source: Google maps database organized by the author of this thesis based on Teixeira's report.

Figure 2.4_ Dutch publication illustrating the attack to the central government of Brazil, [1624] “S. SALVADOR,” in Historisch Museum Rotterdam – Atlas Van Stolk.



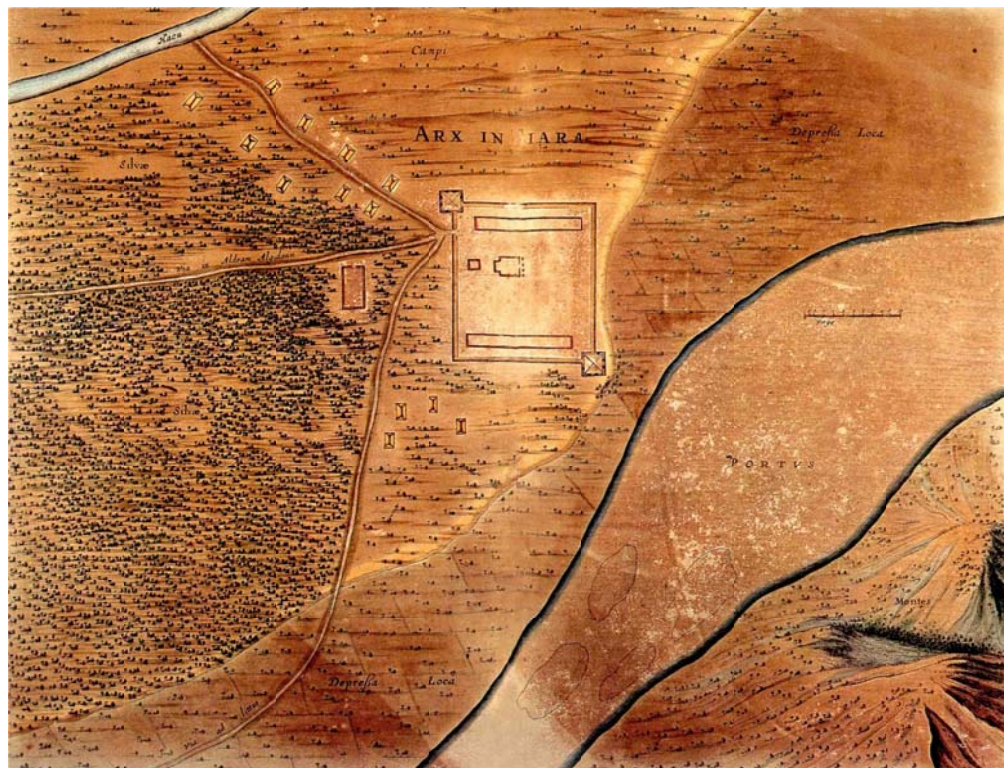
Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho (org.), Beatriz Piccolotto Siqueira Bueno, and Paulo Júlio Valentino Bruna, (contributors) *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo and Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2000), 24.

Figure 2.5_ Dutch Brochure, Pernambuco [1630]. “DE STADT OLINDA DE PHARNAMBUCO,” In Maritien Museum, Rotterdam.



Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, 80.

Figure 2.6_ Fortress in Ceará, [1640], “ARX IN SIARA” Barlaeus, 1647, In Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.



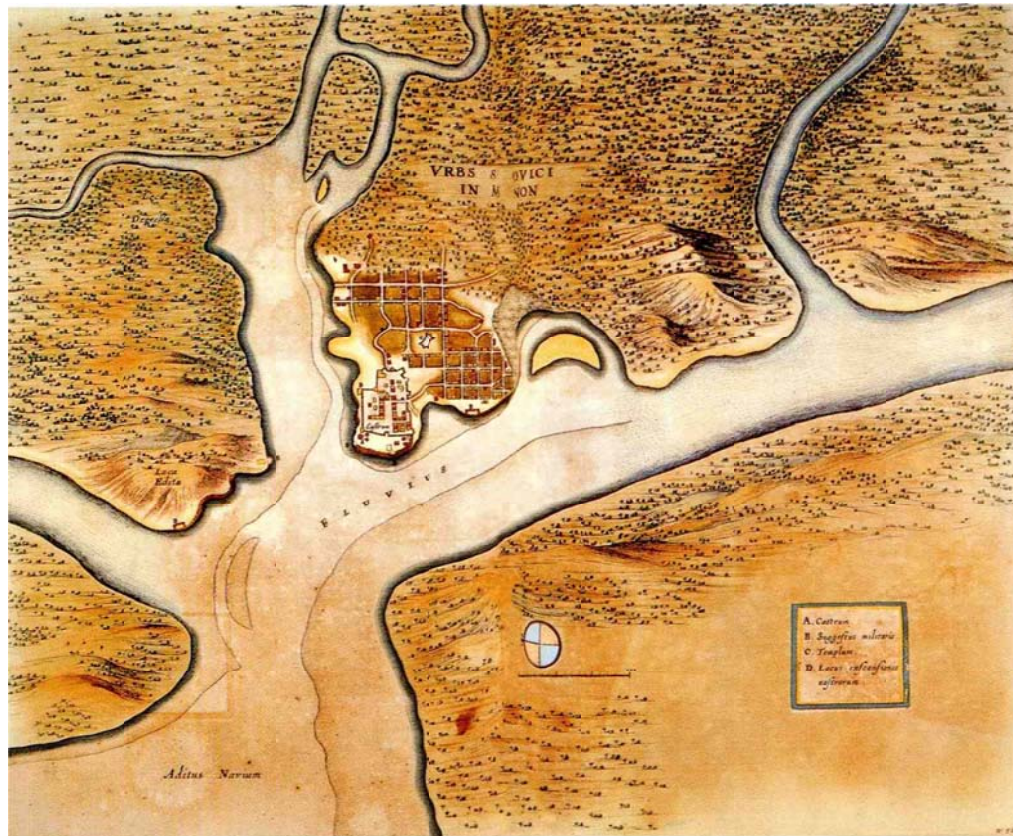
Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil*, 130.

Figure 2.7_ Ceará, Frans Post, [1637-1645]. “SIARA,” Barlaeus, 1647, in Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.



Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, 131.

Figure 2.8_ Dutch map of Maranhão, [1637-1645], “MARAGNON,” Barlaeus, 1647, in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.



Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, 142.

Figure 2.9 Maranhão, Frans Post, [1637-1645]. “MARAGNON,” Barlaeus, 1647, in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.



Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, 141.

Figure 2.10 _Fortress Pará, [1640]. “DE STAT ENDE FORT VAN GRAN PARA,” Algemeen Rijksarchief, Hague.



Source: Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, 267.

For these reasons and for the financial burden they were being forced to accept, the Portuguese settlers in the Amazon delta had compelling reasons to avoid huge expeditions such as the one proposed. Their acting governor, Jácome Raimundo de Noronha, was of a completely different opinion. In 1637, after the arrival of the Franciscan friars, Noronha sent a letter to the King explaining that an expedition was being sent to protect the area against foreign enemies, especially the Dutch, in the upper Amazon.¹⁹ Based on the recent Dutch invasions, Noronha's claim was not unreasonable. The issue was, however, that he was sending an expedition in a different direction (west) than that of the Dutch's claimed advance (from the north and southeast), and that would be hard to explain to Madrid.

¹⁹ Noronha sent a letter to the King suggesting the expedition was a necessary measure to combat the Dutch and other foreigners in the area. Noronha highlighted the invasion of Ceará by the Dutch implying that he was sending this expedition to make sure no other area connected with the colony of Maranhão would be subject to further territorial losses due to the Dutch, English and others. That governor was Bento Maciel Parente, who actually would lose control of the state to the Dutch in 1641. See Document transcription "Jácome Raimundo de Noronha escreve a Filipe III, informando-o da chegada ao Pará e Maranhão, de dois frades leigos e seis soldados, vindos de Quito e da necessidade de meios de defesa contra o inimigo [Maranhão, 29 de Maio de 1637]" in Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Luzitânia,"* 308.

The expedition²⁰

To command the expedition Noronha chose Pedro Teixeira (1570-1641), a official of the Portuguese military born in São Pedro de Cantanhede near Coimbra.²¹ Teixeira seems to have arrived in Brazil in 1607. Since then he had fought to expel the French from Ceará to Maranhão, and he was a member of the Caldeira Castelo Branco expedition that founded Pará. Under the command of Castelo Branco, he opened the trail overland from Maranhão to Pará. Since 1616, Teixeira had been appointed commander of several other “expeditions” to combat foreign and Native enemies in the area. His success moved him from lieutenant in 1616 to captain in 1618. Between 1616 and 1631, Teixeira was involved in famous battles against the Dutch and the English who were trying to establish trading posts on the left margin of the Amazon River.²² In 1625, he commanded an expedition that defeated the Dutch in the Xingu River. In 1626, under the guise of an expedition of exploration, he made friends with some Natives and enslaved others in the area of the Tapajós River. Three years later, Teixeira battled again and destroyed the English Fort of Torredo. The English settlement moved further north. In 1631, before Noronha became the acting major-captain of Pará, he commanded an expedition with

²⁰ I worked with the transcriptions of the original document in Old Castillian. Pedro Teixeira, *Relación del General Pedro Tejeira de el rio de las Amazonas para el S.^or Presidente* in Jaime Cortesão, “O significado da Expedição,” 188-194. In addition, I consulted the translations to Portuguese in Anete Costa Ferreira, *A expedição de Pedro Teixeira.*, Nelson Papavero et al. *O Novo Éden: a fauna da Amazônia.*, and the transcription in Lucinda Saragoça, *Da “Feliz Lusitânia,”* 309 -312.

²¹ See Anete Costa Ferreira, *A expedição de Pedro Teixeira*, 49-53.

²² From the view point of someone traveling up the Amazon River from its mouth in the coast of Brazil to Quito.

Teixeira that seized that English settlement.²³ Teixeira had more than 25 years of military service and was very experienced in the area; no surprise Noronha chose him for this new expedition to the upper Amazon.²⁴

The expedition left São Luís on July 25, 1637, and went to Pará, where it obtained more supplies and enlisted more people. The sources present some conflicts about the numbers, but it seems that Teixeira's expedition was composed of more than one thousand Indigenous Natives and their wives and children, and around seventy soldiers mostly Portuguese, including one Portuguese as well as the Spaniards who had descended the river with the Franciscan friars from Quito. Fray Andres de Toledo [Andre de Toledo] went to Europe as emissary of Noronha, but Fray Diego de Brieva [Domingos de Brieva also returned with the expedition. As pilot, he had Teixeira had Bento da Costa, and as lieutenants, Bento Rodrigues de Oliveira and Pedro da Costa Favela, both of Portuguese and maybe also Native descent, born in Brazil, probably in Pernambuco. These people were familiar with Native customs and some of their languages. From the region of Pará, the expedition set out on the voyage between October 17 and 28, 1637.²⁵

²³ When Noronha first arrived from Portugal in company with the first governor Coelho de Carvalho, he was assigned to the finances of the state, "provedor-mor." However, between May 29 and November 26 of 1630, the governor assigned him as acting captain-major of Pará. During this period, Noronha participated in *entradas* to attack and expel the English and the Dutch from the area. On October 8, 1636, after the death of Carvalho, Noronha persuaded the town hall officials in São Luís and in Pará to elect him as acting governor until the crown could send a substitute. Mário Martins Meireles, *História do Maranhão* 2n Ed. (São Luís, Brazil: Fundação Cultural do Maranhão, 1980).

²⁴ Bento Maciel Parente, Document, São Luís, 1639, in Lucinda Saragaça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia,"* 318-320.

²⁵ In the sources there is a conflict about the dates.

At some point between January and February of 1638, the expedition entered unknown areas, the food became scarce and desertions began. Experienced in the mentality of long journeys, Teixeira thought that if the troops believed the expedition was near its end they would keep up and not desert. Often, when an expedition was about to reach its goal, it sent troops ahead to check on the place. Teixeira selected eight canoes of the 47 that had departed from Pará and sent them ahead to make the soldiers believe the expedition was about to end. Furthermore, since the area was like a labyrinth of rivers, it was prudent to send an advance guard to reconnoiter the course before such a large expedition took the wrong way, which would make the crew nervous and unsure about the commander.

Teixeira chose Bento Rodrigues de Oliveira to lead the vanguard and selected some Natives and soldiers to go with him. It seems that the vanguard was able to make friends with some Natives along the river, getting food and advice. The vanguard ascended the Napo River arriving in the Spanish outpost of Payamino June 24, 1638. Early July the rest of the expedition with Teixeira arrived at the area of the Encabelado Natives, near the junction of the Napo and Cururay Rivers; Teixeira divided the expedition again, leaving the officers **Favela and Bayão (sic)** with 300 Natives and 40 soldiers waiting in the area. In the meantime, Teixeira and a small group of followers continued the voyage. They reached the Spanish settlement of Payamino in middle August. In the harbor, Bento Rodrigues left the canoes and a message: Quito was 80 leagues [208 miles] overland.

In Baeca²⁶[Baeza], on the road to Quito, where Bento Rodrigues had arrived months before, Teixeira's group was received warmly and Quito's officials sent horses and mules to carry them over the rest of the trip. In the Franciscan mission of Pupas, the next stop of the trip, Bento Rodrigues' group was waiting for Teixeira and both parties continued the journey together. Nearby Quito, a delegation from that city intercepted and conducted the group to a church for thanksgiving, while political discussions were taking place among the authorities before bringing the Portuguese into the city. Upon arrival in Quito, Teixeira's group was publicly received by the president of the Royal Audience, Don Alonzo Perez de Salazar and warmly welcomed by the leading citizens, who offered speeches and festivities with dancing, feasting, and bullfights. Teixeira and his captain, Bento da Costa, were also "invited" to report on the expedition and informed that no plans for Teixeira's return should be made until further instructions came from Lima, where the viceroy of Peru, Count of Cinchon, and his council would evaluate the situation.²⁷

Signed in Quito on January 2, 1639, Teixeira's report to the Audience of Quito was succinct in comparison to the other accounts about the expedition. Teixeira's report presents mainly physical and demographic features of the Amazon Basin. The report

²⁶ Napo Province: "La región de los indios Quijos era uno de los países que pertenecía al Soberano de Quito antes de ser conquistada por los españoles. En 1534, año de fundación de Quito, ya se conocía la existencia de la Provincia de los Quijos. Este calificativo se supone fue tomado del río que lleva ese nombre porque, el 28 de junio de 1535, al demarcar la ciudad de Quito se considera que el límite va en dirección a Quijos hasta la parte que se llama Hatunquijos y de donde se trae la mayor parte de la canela proveniente del otro lado del gran río." <http://www.viajandox.com/napo/baeza-quijos-canton.htm> (accessed July 26, 2012). (See figures 2.5 and 2.6).

²⁷ The Franciscans also made a report upon arrived in Maranhão. See figure 1.1.

lacks some details like more precise directions on the tributaries of the Amazon River as well as on the Native nations contacted along the expedition, but Teixeira excused the lack of information with the justification that further details would be provided by the major-pilot, Bento da Costa. The most important aspect of this document is its context, given Teixeira's reception by Quito authorities. Despite the festivities, behind the scenes the authorities in Peru were uneasy about the unexpected expedition coming from the mouth of the river and from outside their jurisdiction. In this sense, the report suggests a background question such as that the authorities posed to Teixeira: – tell me what we don't know about the river and the provinces along it, starting from where you came? In other words, the whole discourse – if we consider it as an answer by Teixeira, appears to uphold the justification that the expedition had the purpose of a defensive action against the enemy threat. Foreign enemies and savage Natives seem to be the ostensible cause of the expedition.²⁸

²⁸ In the area near the Amazon delta, many Native nations were in frequent contact and had commerce with the Dutch and other enemies of the Crown (English, French, among others). For further references see the document excerpt “Jácome Raimundo de Noronha escreve a Filipe III. Informando-o da chegada ao Pará e Maranhão, de dois frades leigos e seis soldados vindos de Quito e da necessidade de meios de defesa contra o inimigo.”[May 29, 1637] in Lucinda Saragoca, *Da “Feliz Lusitânia,”* 308. Also see: George Edmundson, “The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century. Part I of Dutch Trade on the Amazon,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 72 (Oct., 1903): 642-663., George Edmundson, “Early Relations of the Manóas with the Dutch,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 82 (Apr., 1906): 229-253.

Figure 2.11_ Facsimile of Teixeira's report first page.

Direzione al Generali Pedro
 Vico del P^a della Nazionale
 6000 al P^a Presidente.

[illegible]

Source: Anete Costa Ferreira, *A Expedição de Pedro Teixeira: A sua importância para Portugal e o Futuro da Amazônia*. (Lisbon, Portugal: Ésquilo, 2000), 79.

Teixeira started his narrative in Fort Presépio at the Portuguese mouth of the Amazon.²⁹ The report, in which Teixeira names important rivers and the Native nations found along the riverbanks, mostly follows the linear sequence of the expedition. However, Teixeira spent a considerable amount of text to re-state the description of the Portuguese provinces in the area of Pará. Teixeira emphasized the land potential in terms of the presence of Natives, the land productivity, and its mineral resources. Teixeira also highlighted the military defensive actions that should be taken to secure the river in terms of Native threats and European enemies, which he called “foreign enemies,” specially the Dutch, French, and English. Teixeira’s narrative makes a distinction between the types of information he presented based on what he observed [in situ], knew by experience, or heard about from someone. Consistent with this approach, at the end of the document he concludes that what had been described is “true for having been there and seen with my own eyes.”³⁰ However, what did Teixeira spotlight to Quito’s authorities, and what does the order of his discourse show?

He starts his descriptions in the city of Velen [Belém] in Pará and its fort Présepio, at 25 leagues [65 miles] from the sea in a bay facing three rivers Capim, Oscaza [Acará?], Moysu [Moju?]. The expedition departed from Belém, crossed several rivers

²⁹ “o general Pedro faz uma descricao detalhada SaragocaP. 309. Relazion del General Pedro Tejeira de el rio de las Amazonas para el St Presidente. “En este gran sition tiene Su Magestad una Fortaleza que llaman el presepio, situada en la Ciudad de Velen, dista de la mar, veinte y zinco leguas queda de la venda de este,...” Pedro Teixeira, *Relazi6n* in Jaime Cortes6o, “O significado da Expedi66o,” 188.

³⁰ “... y todo lo contiudo en esta relazion Zertifico, e Juro por los Santos Evangelios, passer todo en la vedad, por lo haver andado y visto por mis ojos y me acorto en muchas cosas, por no parecer fabuloso.” Ibid, 194.

like the Camuta, ocatins [Tocantins], Yguape, Pacaja, and Guanapus Rivers, and seven leagues [18.2 miles] further it stopped in Curupa [Curupá/ Gurupá?] in the village of Sn. Joseph [São José] and near the Fort of Sn. Antonio [Santo Antonio]. The next stop was made after more 50 leagues [130 miles] of forest, when the expedition reached Genipapo; after another 150 [390 miles] leagues inland, the expedition found a large number of Native villages, comprising about 15 nations. Along the Amazon River, towards the Tapajos [Tapajós] River and 80 leagues [208 miles] from Curupá, the riverbank seemed depopulated, but two [5.2 miles] to three [7.3 miles] leagues inland Teixeira talked with many Natives, who said that the Tapajos people were located at the mouth of a big river, which he believed to be an affluent of the Pernaiba River [Parnaíba?]. Teixeira tried to obtain information on the source of the nearby rivers without success: no one knew the origin of the Great River [Amazon River], or of its tributaries. Traveling up the Amazon River, Teixeira saw Native villages with many thousands of inhabitants and the expedition set up camp at one of the villages, where Teixeira claimed the Natives had killed some of the men from the Orellana expedition of 1542.

Continuing westward more 80 leagues [208 miles], the expedition reached a strait [Óbitos] with a vast depth³¹. In the area, Teixeira described beautiful sites, with fluvial beaches and potential for defensive harbors. The Natives resided close to both margins, but the river's margins were also depopulated. From the strait [Óbitos], he stated that the

³¹ “Dejando este rio, caminamos al oeste, como ochenta Leguas, siendo el rrio siempre a dos Leguas, y dos y media de ancho, asta una anfostura, que no tiene mas de un quarto de Legua, mas tanto fondo, que ochenta bracas no se pudo tomar en el canal” Ibid, 190.

Amazon River widened again, and he ceased to report on the north margin [right side] until they reached the Negro River because they continued the journey on the left side [south], where the path seemed safer. Over 120 leagues [312 miles] from the strait, the expedition encountered the Tupinambá people, who escaped from Eastern Brazil walking from the coast to the Amazon River until they reached that site where, according to Teixeira, they claimed the Amazon Women lived just six days away. Teixeira seemed less open to believe in what he heard from the Natives than from other explorers, like the Jesuit Christóbal de Acuña. Teixeira stated he could not actually know the truth about the issue since he did not see the Amazon Women.

At the end of the Tapajós and Tupinambás domains, the Amazon River was deep and very wide, and they named it Madeira because it carried much wood. From the Madeira River about 60 leagues [156 miles] farther they reached the Negro River, where the mouth was a little more than half a league [1.3 mile] wide, but its width increased in two days journey. The Negro had remarkable expanse and depth and even though its water was undrinkable and lignite in hue, many other rivers with clean water discharged in it; and as they continued the voyage the Negro got as clear as other rivers. On the day of Santa Luzia, the expedition stopped in a village and prepared 500 fanegas [27,750 l)³² of cassava flour, which was plentiful for their needs. Because they had arrived on Saint Lucia's day, the village was named after the saint. Returning to the Amazon River, which

³² Approximately 55.5 L. *Diccionario de la Real Academia*, see <http://lema.rae.es/drae/> (accessed May 10, 2012).

in this passage of the report Teixeira calls Marañon River, the expedition continued upstream until it reached a river near a Native village where many of its people had gold ornaments in their ears and noses; Teixeira named the river Oro [Ouro River]. Teixeira also collected two samples of those ornaments and one was 21 carat gold. He affirmed that they saw a lot of copper, which he would not elaborate on because it was already well known.

Without seeing people on the banks of the river, the expedition traveled for another seven days until the first villages of the Omagua people, and until they saw a huge river, called Barreiras River, so named because of the big barriers at its mouth. There, the expedition heard from the Natives that the Barreiras River ran from the south, but they did not know its origin. “They just claimed the Barreiras River comes from far way and that it is home to many courageous gentiles; no one dares to verify from where it comes.” The Omaguas, who seemed to have escaped from a province of Quito called Quijos, inhabited an area with abundant resources and very extensive- something around seven leagues [18.2 miles] of longitude, which inland extended more or less 400 leagues [1040 miles]. In Piru [Peru], the expedition passed through many tributaries of the great river [Amazon River]. Among those tributaries, Teixeira commented on the Tunguragua and the Curaray [Cururay] Rivers as the most noteworthy. In strategic terms for the Amazon River defense, Teixeira highlighted the importance of some geographical sites like the first strait [Óbitos] before it reached the Tupinambá area. In the Negro River rocks and other building materials were available and the site would be perfect for a fort. In this site, Teixeira also made friends with the Natives, and as he commented, he made

sure to leave all the inhabitants happy and satisfied because of what the area promised.³³

Finally, the Barreiras River was also a strategic site to be considered as a site for territorial defensiveness.

Pedro Teixeira focuses on some aspects rather than others while describing the expedition along the Amazon River. His narrative still allows the reader to distinguish between what they observed, experienced, or heard. However, it does not mean the knowledge he presented did not assume an authoritative standing point that can be detected in his discourse.³⁴ The historical analysis of his discourse, as it is conceived in this thesis, considers that Teixeira's report does not exhibit a high level of authority in comparison with the other two accounts of the expedition, Rojas and Acuña's, which will be discussed in the following chapters of this thesis.³⁵ Nonetheless, it does not mean Teixeira's discourse does not perform power. The uses and practices of his discourse, for instance, what he stated or re-stated, already underlie the relationship between knowledge and power. Furthermore, "the formation of discourses and the genealogy of knowledge need to be analyzed, not in terms of types of consciousness, modes of perception and forms of ideology, but in terms of strategies deployed through implantations,

³³ "Todos los moradores del rro de Sta.Luzia deje contentos é satisfhos con dadibas de Anchas, cosillas, Anzuelos y valorios, y peines; y otras cosas, por me parecer ânzî combeniente âl servizio de S.M., por lo mucho que aquellas partes promete, y saliendo de alli torne a buscar el camino deel rrio Maranon y metido en el camine" Pedro Teixeira, *Relazi3n* in Jaime Cortes3o, "O significado da Expediç3o," 192.

³⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith, 1969 repr; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976).

³⁵ See Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) and Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (translated by Travistoc/ Routledge, 1966 repr.; London: Routledge, 2002).

distributions, demarcations, and control of territories and organizations of domains which could well make up a sort of geopolitics.”³⁶

In this sense, rather than ask, “what does the order of Teixeira’s discourse show? it would be better to ask what type of “territorial demarcation” could be apprehended from his discourse? Besides the knowledge of facts, what geographical representation³⁷ does Teixeira’s narrative suggest? Are there any geopolitical implications behind and arising from it?

In the report, Teixeira implicitly presents the causes behind the expedition. He makes clear that the issues were to defend the Amazon Basin against the enemies, especially the “foreign enemies,” and to open lines of communication with Natives in areas of economic potential and military interest. The expedition had an inherent geopolitical cause, and this cause was manipulated through discursive strategies to justify the expedition, to minimize the threat of such geopolitics to the Spanish, and to enclose the Natives as an essential part of the territorial demarcation. Teixeira spotlights a geographical representation in which the Amazon Basin is assumed to be an Iberian European territory *per se*, and as such it is being explored and cleaned from enemies: Dutch, French, English, and savage Natives. The area seems like as an enormous garden left unprotected by its owner. Teixeira’s discourse does not portray the area as a

³⁶ Michel Foucault. “Questions on Geography” in Colin Gordon (editor). *Michel Foucault. Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings: 1972-1977*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 77.

³⁷ See methodology.

conquest, but rather as a territory already assumed as Iberian and that must be protected and defended against the enemies.

The rivers, the lands, and the natives are in the same hierarchy of description as other potential resources of the territory under control. The exception in Teixeira's discourse is when the Natives are described as savages who eat human flesh and ferociously resist subjugation. In this case the Native passes to an intermediate category between enemy and troublesome resource. In both cases the inferential reason to launch the expedition still holds. In other words, foreign invasions and violent natives were acceptable motivations to pursue the expedition. In Quito, the Spanish interlocutors probably questioned this motivation, and they may have raised inconvenient questions: if the expedition was specifically targeting foreign enemies, why did the expedition leave the exact areas where those enemies were located? Why did it leave unprotected the very areas at the mouth of the river that demanded ostensive protection and were in fact near the Portuguese official domain?

To counteract those possible questions Teixeira included in his report a substantial description on the security and prosperity of Belém. The city was in front of a large bay, but it was easy to defend because, as Teixeira argued, the islands in the bay could be used to attack the enemies. In addition, Belém was prosperous. Its bay had a background landscape of clean fields and the city had abundant fishing and hunting areas as well as fertile soils, in which fructified "melons, watermelons, cucumbers, vegetables, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, sweet limes, grapefruit, figs, large bunches of grapes

weighing three to four pounds, all with greater taste that exceeds those of Spain.”³⁸ “On the coast, [there is] the place the Natives call Puerto de el Sol, which is the best in the world for defense because it has the advantage of being near the sea, where there are many Portuguese shacks made by their Native slaves, and [there are] some villages of freed Natives.”³⁹ In other words, Teixeira suggested to Quito’s authorities that the Portuguese in Belém had all their needs met - almost a paradise of sweet fruits and many obedient slaves.

As Teixeira commented in subtle shades, the potential of the Pará’s surrounding areas was already great. For lack of people to reconnoiter the land, the expedition never confirmed some of this natural wealth, but the surroundings of Pará, particularly in the Tocantins River, the Stones River in Native language, seemed to contain great riches. From an area nearby called Yuaguoara coru to Genipapo, about 50 leagues [130 miles] of forested land from Curupá [Gurupá], the expedition observed sandy soils near to some forested areas from where the Natives obtained green stones and metals, possibly emeralds and silver. Moreover, the Curupá area was full of Native nations, so many that Teixeira claimed it was impossible to name them all. In Teixeira’s opinion the Curupá Fort did not defend anything; it barely could be considered a fort, though the fort’s

³⁸ “en una punta de tierra firme mui saludable y fertilisima de todos los frutos de la tierra, y muchos de Espana, como son Melones, sandias, pepinos, ortalisas, granadas, Naranjas, Sidras, Limas Duses, toronjas, Higos, algunas Ubas, y los Razimos tan grandes que pesan tres y quarto Libras, y todo con tan Lindo sabor que excede a las de espana, esta situada la da Fortaleza...” Pedro Teixeira, *Relación* in Jaime Cortesão, “O significado da Expedição,” 189.

³⁹ “otro sitio en la costa de la misma parte de este, que llaman los Indios el Puerto de el Sol, que es el mayor de el Mundo por defense de el, y vasta para serla, estar en la Mar; Zercano ay muchisima chozas de los Purtgueses, echas con esclavos suios e algunos Pueblos de Indios livertos.” Ibid.

location in a large ravine created the illusion of a defense that helped to keep the enemies away from the settlements of Portuguese Native allies who lived nearby. Curupá was, nevertheless, an important area to facilitate the control of the Amazon River mouth. The support for the Cabo del Norte [today's Amapá area], where – as Teixeira stated, “foreign enemies continuously tried to settle and to trade with the Aruaca [Aruaque], Aragoazi, Comaú, and other residents of Tocusingue,”⁴⁰ was provided from Curupá. The enemy's potential invasion, as an inferential problem the expedition tried to solve was subliminally re-stated, but now clearly linked to the Native peoples.

Teixeira's comments on the Natives' trade with other Europeans already indicate that the commercial losses might be the bulk of the Native question if they became enemies, but this treatment of the Native question would become more obvious along the narrative especially because the expedition in fact did not find any trace of foreign enemies after the immediate areas around Pará; to keep the enemies' invasion as the cause behind the expedition the argument would have to be nuanced. As the reason for the expedition, the enemy invasion could not hold without the presence of foreign enemies along the whole Amazon River; the description of the violent Natives seems to take its place. This idea of the so-called violent natives replacing the foreign enemies in Teixeira's discourse in order to justify territorial exploration seems evident. As Acuna's

⁴⁰ Esta Fortaleza de el Curupa, tiene fama no defiende cosa ninguna por estar sobre una gran barranca, es solamente para conservacion de los Indios horros, que por allí zercano viven, y para corer la costa de el cabo del Norte, por donde de continuo entran los enemigos a poblas y comerear con los aruacas, aragoazis, comaus, y todos los moradores de tocusingue...” Ibid.

report pointed out, behind the Portuguese description of violent natives seemed to exist the intent to justify their actions.

Near the Parnayva River [Parnaíba River], which Teixeira seems to believe ran south and spilled into the Curupá River, the waters were beautiful, the land was good and there were many burly Natives. Among those Natives some, whom he called Seuna [Juruna], which means black mouth in the Native language, attracted his attention. Commenting on the customs of this people, Teixeira observed that they painted their faces with black lines and brought their women to battle. These women were so confident of their husbands' prowess that while their husbands fought they spun cotton and chatted. However, the emphasis of Teixeira's discourse is that, like other Natives along the Amazon River, this people and the Tapajós ate human flesh. As Teixeira stated, "they eat each other."⁴¹

Frequently, Teixeira would reclaim that the Natives ate human flesh and were like vultures collecting human remains. Moreover, in this "quadrant," the Natives made use of very poisonous arrows. A small scratch, shedding little blood, was deadly. "We do not know of medicine to counter this poison and neither do those who use it [the poison]."⁴² Teixeira reminds Quito's authorities that in that area the Natives had killed some of the men from the Orellana expedition of 1542. In addition, the Portuguese did not forget to

⁴¹ "son todos carnizeros a marabilla comiendose unos a otros como hazen todos los del rrio, ..." Ibid, 190.

⁴² "...todos los desta quadrillera de fleche heruada tan ponzonosa, que en quitando qualquiera sangre no ai remedio ninguno ni los que la usan, lo saben." Ibid.

report that probably these Natives were the ones who mistreated Fr. Andres de Toledo, one of the missionaries who arrived in Maranhão from Quito downstream the Amazon River.⁴³ In Teixeira's words, "they pushed him [Fr. Toledo] and took off his religious robe. Fr. Toledo called these Natives *boruirrojas* because they painted or streaked their faces, but they were like the Xeruuuna [Juruna]."⁴⁴ Dangerous or not, the expedition not only talked with this people, but also set up camp in their villages.

Teixeira was outspoken about the Tupinambá people, as well. These Natives resided 120 leagues after the strait [Óbitos], where Teixeira recommended a fort be built to prevent the advance of enemies along the Amazon River. After the domains of Tapajós and Tupinambá, it seems that the poison arrows that were used all along the Amazon River were not as deadly as those on the lower Amazon. Teixeira was, however, still intensely negative in his observations about the Natives. Teixeira described the Tupinambás as ferocious people, who rebelled at any type of subjection. The Tupinambás had escaped from Brazil walking from the coast to the Amazon River, until they reached the site where, according to Teixeira, they were presently living. These people gave news on the Amazon Women, or at least confirmed some of the claims about this legend.

⁴³ Both, Rojas and Acuña's narratives agree that this village was the place where some of Orellana's men were killed. Neither Rojas nor Acuña presented the story about the friar, and Acuña accused the Portuguese of claiming that the Natives were more violent than they actually were without proof. Furthermore, Acuña states that the Portuguese used these tales to justify their enslavement of Natives.

⁴⁴ "de um gran rrio que quanto a mi es braso de lo de pernaiba, porque a mi, lo afirman algunos naturales, tendra este pueblo, de quinze mil vesinos para arriba ele rrio muchisimos aqui, tataron mal a los religiosos de S^an Franc^o que vajaron desta ciudad de Quito quitandole el Abito al padre Fr. Andres de Toledo, dandole algunos rempujones, y el le puso el nombre de baruiarrojas, por las tener tintas y arriscadas como los xeruunas, en este mismo Pueblo mataron una poca de gente de Franc^o. De Orellana, que aun oy estan Arvoles de las estacas de su serca en el mismo lugar, hazemos las nuetras, quando alli venimos." Ibid.

However, Teixeira's report raises some doubts on the issue. The Tupinambás claimed the Amazon Women lived just six days away from the Tupinambás' village, but Teixeira also commented that he did not see them, and he could not confirm the information. As I noted before, Teixeira seems much less open to believe in what he heard from the Natives than from other explorers like the Jesuit Acuña.

In this part of Teixeira's report it is impossible to distinguish if the Tupinambás claimed they had many indigenous villages under their control or if the Amazon Women had. The nature of the document makes it unclear if the Tupinambás were referring to the Amazon Women or to themselves.⁴⁵ This part of the original text is very confusing, and many authors, starting with Rojas and Acuña, assumed the Tupinambás were referring to the Amazon Women warriors, but Teixeira's report shows that something may have been lost in the translation. Even though many people in the expedition possibly understood the *Língua Geral*,⁴⁶ a *língua franca* and a mix of Tupi and Guarani native languages that was used for general communication among different Native nations along the heartland of Brazil and the Amazon, it seems that doubts remained on the issue. The text, by

⁴⁵ "... esta nazione the gente mui feroz, carniceira, y no han nunca querido conocer sugezion y pore so vinieron huidos de el Brasil, rrompiendo por tierra, y conquistando muchisimos numerous de gentios, hasta llegar al gran rrui y sition donde oi viven esto nos diero muchas/ nuevas| de las Amasonas mui verifacas, y que estavan solo seis Jornadas, de alli como no las vide solo afirmo por verdad, abra de esta gente e otras diversas nazioni. Que ellos tienen sugetas a su Dominio como tezieros pueblos, y mas no tendran, mas que hasta quinientos, o ochozientos casales cada uno, aqui se acaban las felchas Herbatas peligrasas, y aunque por todo el rrio, las ai, no matan como las susodhas." Ibid, 191.

⁴⁶ *Língua Geral* is the name of two distinct *linguae francae* spoken in Brazil: the *língua geral paulista* (tupi austral), now extinct and the *língua geral amazônica*, whose modern descendant is considered to be the Nheengatu. Both were simplified versions of languages spoken by the Tupi people. See Lyle Campbell, (1997). *American Indian Languages: The historical linguistics of Native America*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)., Raymond G. Gordon (Ed.) and Barbara F. Grimes (contributor). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (15th ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2005).

accident or by design, seems to reproduce the lack of clarity in Teixeira's opinion on the issue. Was the translation imprecise or did the Tupinambá just confirm what the Europeans wanted to hear? Or was Teixeira less likely to believe in the words of these people? We actually do not know.

However, we do know [and Quito's authorities did as well], when obedient or willing to negotiate, the Natives were a valuable source of knowledge and a human resource. The knowledge about geography, food, and any other potential goods on the Amazon Basin was obtained from them. Talking to the Natives, or at least observing them was crucial, as Teixeira's comments reveal when he observed that the Natives had small quantities of silver in the wood pieces they wore in their ears. Moreover, to the Europeans the Natives were a much needed resource to populate the country and to serve as a labor force; requirements to settle and to make the area a *de facto* European territory. In these terms, Teixeira's comments on potential goods like gold, on strategic sites and rivers, and on the Native demography were obviously interconnected. In this context, Teixeira observed that the Negro River had straits in which they could make as many defensive structures as they wished. There were many stones to build forts and houses, and it had beautiful beaches to farm, and the fertility of the land was promising from what he saw.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, if even the shacks were built by Native slaves, who would

⁴⁷ "... êste rrio és notable de grande [...] tiene Angosturas para se hazer todas las defesas que quisieren con muchas piedras para fortalezas y caserías, lindas Playas para Haziendas, las tierras prometeb de su mucha fertilidad, por lo que bi, en los pueblos de Indios que comunique, son tantos que no me atrebo a darle numero, gente de guerra, mas política que los mas que hasta alli biben, en su poder,..." Pedro Teixeira, *Relación* in Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição," 191.

build such defensive structures? Teixeira observations on the countless Natives in the area made a lot of sense, as they could be of much use.

Describing the Omaguas, Teixeira spotlighted the discursive interconnections between the Natives' knowledge and resources issues as they would have appealed to the Europeans. As Teixeira commented, the Omaguas, who had their heads flattened and inhabited an area of 100 leagues of longitude, more or less 400 leagues inland, had large settlements with abundant resources. In this context, the association between Native culture and inhuman violence does not seem a coincidence. "Along the great river [Amazon River] all people eat each other;" however, the Omaguas were in Teixeira's opinion, the greatest butchers. They were more ferocious than the other nations because, as Teixeira stated, "the Omaguas only eat human flesh. They hung in their homes trophy skulls of those they kill." Besides, the Omaguas "ate so much human flesh that they were very fat and no clothes could dress these people."⁴⁸ After the expedition left these villages and until they reached the Napo in Quijos, the Amazon River shoreline seemed uninhabited. Nevertheless, Teixeira affirmed that all places inland and across the great

⁴⁸ "Y caminando, de alli, a otros siete dias, sin gente de el rrio, hasta el Primer Pueblo de los Omaguas, estadno en el medio, un gran rrio que llaman de las Barreras, por las tener grandes en la voca, coore al sur, no dan relazion los Naturales, de su Nazimientto, solamente que viene de mui lejos, y todo poblado de mucho gentio, y valientes, porque ningunos, se atreven a dizen [viene] tambien del Piru. Al cabo destas Jornadas, empiezan los omaguas, que usan las cabezas chatas ocuparan de Longitud de el rrio zient leguas y tendran de Pueblo quatrocientos poco mas o menos, gente mui carnizera y supuesto, que todos los del rrio, lo son y se comen unos a otros, esto pasan la mano, porque no usan otra carne sino la umana y tiene por trofeo las Calaveras delos que matan, colgadas en sus casas, y tan grandes comedores son, que la grosura de la gente, los haze todos pelados y esta gente desindio huida de los quijos, los pueblos, los mas dellos son grandes y abundantes de todo lo nevezario." Ibid, 192-193.

river were inhabited by innumerable people.⁴⁹ In the report to Quito, Teixeira emphasizes the Natives as an alternative enemy to the Dutch, French, and English. Teixeira's discursive construction highlights, however, that the Natives were also a potential resource for the conquest.

Considering the historical analysis of Pedro Teixeira's report, I argue that three major factors affected the geographical representation of the Amazon Basin. As presented in this chapter, the first factor is the Spanish-Portuguese conflict of interests in empire building. The second concerns their mutual interests to purge the area of non-Iberian European nations. Finally, the third refers to their appropriation of the Natives via discursive practices and actions. In this sense, considering historical geography as an analysis of territorial formation – as Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes proposes – Teixeira's narrative reveals the very beginning of the Amazon Valley territorial formation as Portuguese and Spanish territories.

In particular, Teixeira's report shows the discursive practices used by the Portuguese local authorities regarding the Natives, and how the knowledge of physical geography and human geography were necessary elements joining together to create a territorial possession. This knowledge would be necessary to guarantee control of the area, for instance, in the process of building fortresses and villages in association with the Natives.

⁴⁹ “Dejando estos pueblos, hasta el rrio napo en los quijos, es todo el rio despoblado a vera mar, mas tierra adentro, no ay tierra despoblada ni en todo rrio, ay atrehome, afirmar, no tiene quanta la gente que ai. “ Ibid, 193.

Furthermore, in the case of Teixeira's report and in terms of the ideological justification for territory building, the Natives would be incorporated via a binary representation as enemies or as friends, but in both cases they would be a potential resource in the eyes of the empire. As enemies, the Natives could be enslaved; as allies, they would be exploited and pushed to join expeditions to conquer other Natives nations and to fight European competitors. In the same process of conquest in which the European powers were engaged to guarantee possession of the Amazon Basin, the Native territories were rewritten to fit into the European geopolitical realm. The discursive practices presented throughout Teixeira's report already suggest a "territorial demarcation," in which the Native people and their land are subsumed into the European territorial representation and political-economical interests. In other words, European contact with the Indigenous was assumed as a self-evident incorporation of the lands and the people into the European political domain.

Figure 2.12 _The Tupinambá. Drawing of Silvano Brownover, (end of 17th century) in The British Library, London.



Source: Lucinda Saragoça, *Da “Feliz Lusitânia,”* fig. 9.

Chapter Three: Rewriting the Expedition

On February 16, 1639 Teixeira and his expedition left Quito. After intense discussions behind the scenes between Quito, Lima and Santa Fé de Bogotá, the Viceroy, the Count of Chichón, who resided in Lima, the capital of all Peru, authorized the expedition to return to Maranhão. They decided that instead of arresting Teixeira and his group Quito should supply the expedition with extra food, munitions, and other necessary goods. However, the expedition had to carry two observers who, as soon as they arrived in Maranhão, should depart to Madrid to inform the Council and the King. The Viceroy decided to keep up the appearances. After listening to advisers, and on the basis that the absence of such an important military group left the area around the mouth of the Amazon unprotected from the Dutch, French, and English enemies, the Viceroy ordered the expedition back. Discussions on the nature and possible effects of the expedition continued though with diplomatic tact. On May 19, 1639, the president of the Royal Audience of Quito, D. Alonso Perez de Salazar, wrote a new letter to Philip IV of Spain explaining and summarizing the decision to send back the Portuguese expedition. Even though the expedition obviously did not intend to protect the river against supposed enemies of the Spanish Crown as Teixeira tried to argue, the Portuguese had to return to prevent further *entradas* through the mouth of the Amazon.

On the context of Rojas' Report

On August 9, 1638, probably just after the arrival of the expedition in the province of Quijos, in the Baeza region, Quito sent a letter reporting on the Portuguese expedition and on the return of Fray Domingos Garzia [Domingos de Brieva] and four soldiers, who had descended the Amazon River in 1637. The President of the Audience in Quito in agreement with other advisers informed the Viceroy in Lima about the inconvenience of allowing the expedition to return. However, following this letter of August 9, the President of the Audience in Quito wrote Lima again. He argued that not to allow the return of the expedition could result in further distress. The area of Pará was prone to invaders' attacks and not having the Portuguese there to block those invasions was also a problem for Spain because the Dutch or other European enemies could ascend the Amazon River and reach Quito as the Portuguese had done. In addition, in terms of diplomacy, it was neither wise nor helpful to retain the expedition. The expedition had returned a friar and four soldiers to Quito and if the expedition did not return it could be a tangible reason for further expeditions with the excuse of retaliation. Claiming a religious person would be sent to report to the Crown, the governor in Maranhão had already retained one of the friars from Quito. Besides the Napo area had few Spaniards and Natives to guarantee the defense of the Royal Audience of Quito.

The Viceroy in Lima answered Quito on November 9, 1638. Despite the inconveniences, the expedition was authorized to return. The Society of Jesus would provide the informers, who would carry orders to report in person to the Crown in Madrid

and prepare a full report of the Amazon River and its population. On November 15, the authorities in Peru sent the Crown a translation from Portuguese to Castilian of the ordinances and the titles Teixeira carried as major-captain of the expedition. Also, the authorities informed Madrid about the general welcome of the Natives along the Amazon River. Following the command from Lima, the Society of Jesus started to gather the information necessary for such a report. Teixeira's personal report followed further indirect questionings in which the authorities in Quito attempted to evaluate the ordenances Noronha had provided the expedition.¹ In this context, the Society of Jesus in Quito was in charge of interviewing the major-pilot and writing down his words. The geographical knowledge acquired would be better organized, and the causes behind the expedition would be reinterpreted.

On June, 23, 1639 In D. Martín Saavedra y Guzman, the governor in Santa Fé de Bogotá, wrote to D. Garcia Mendez de Haro, count of Castillo and counselor and

¹ "En la Instruzion o regimiento prinzipal, que el Governador, di'o al dho Capitan tejera, en una de ls clausulas de ella dize que un regimiento zerrado, que le embio, lo abra en passado de la Provinzia de los Omaguas quando buelba de estas, que las palabras de ella son como se sigue. ' I Pasados los Limites de la Provinzia de los Omaguas, viniendos ia de Quito abrir'a este regimiento que le embi'o zerrado p seguir el orden que en ele diere" *De aqui puede colegirse que el Governador le ordenaba, que en aquel paraje hiziese alguna poblacion, o acto de Posesion po la corona de Portugal I aunque parecia en el real acuerdo, que io hiziese didgenzia con el para que le abriese, y enterarme de lo que contenia, no lo hize por mod de Apremio, pero, procure como en conversazion, que me lo deseje, y pareziendome que no era verosimil lo que me dijo que entendia que le ordenaba el Governador, en aquel regimiento zerracho tube por zierto que el nergarlo era entendiendo que habia de causar sentimiento y pore so mismo no hizo fuerza en que le abrise, y con el tiempo, se declar'o con migo, quando tubo ocazion, de no executararlo, nipudiera, por haver le faltado muchos Indios, murieron, de los que venieron con el y son mui Buenos soldados para estas conquistasm de tal manera que no las podrian fazer sin ellos."* Alonso Perez de Salazar, *Informazion de el Liz. dº D.º Alonso Perez de Salazar Presidente de la Audiencia de Quito, en que da quenta, de la resoluziion que se tomo en la buelta de los Portugueses a las Provinzias del Marañon* in Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição," 194-201. (italics added).

president of the Royal Council of the Indies in Madrid.² Attached to this letter appears the report, which is believed to have been written by the Jesuit Alonso de Rojas. Little is known about Rojas besides the fact that he probably was a professor in the College of the Society of Jesus in Cuenca.³ As argued by Díaz-Maderuelo, this report was attributed to Saavedra y Guzman, but Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (1889), based on Antonio de León Pinelo's comments (1589?-1660), attributed the report to Rojas.⁴ In this thesis I agree with this attribution. The text called "*Relación del descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, hoy S. Francisco de Quito, y declaración del mapa donde está pintado*" is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris). In the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid) (Ms.5859) there is a copy with the map attached.⁵

Rojas compiles major-pilot Benito de Acosta's [Bento da Costa] descriptions.⁶ Teixeira affirms that the major-pilot would provide more details on the journey; Rojas' report is the document that provided such details. Moreover, Rojas' report confirms that several of the details were copied from or paraphrased the words of the expeditons'

² Letter from D. Martín de Saavedra y Guzmán in C. de Melo-Leitão, *Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas*, 83-84.

³ The city of Cuenca is at SW and 187.12 mile from Quito.
http://www.mapcrow.info/Distance_between_Quito_EC_and_Cuenca_EC.html (accessed May 21, 2012).

⁴ Antonio de León Pinelo was a famous Spanish scholar, who studied with the Jesuits in Lima. See Antonio León Pinelo [1590? -1660], *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo, comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias* ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (1656 repr.; Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1943).

⁵ Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 23.

⁶ For a discussion on the major-pilot and his equipe, see George Edmudson, "The Voyage of Pedro Teixeira."

major-pilot. A more important aspect of this report is that it functions not only to provide further details about the expedition and the knowledge acquired during it, but also re-states (and re-interprets) the events of the expedition according to Quito's point of view. An analysis of Rojas' report makes clear the re-writing of the expedition as a Quito achievement instead of a Portuguese one. In addition, Rojas' report ties the Natives to an interpretation that justifies European territorial representation and control. The European representation of the Amazon would rely on the use of a sort of cultural analysis of the Native to justify the need for a European territorial construction.

Providing Geographical and Ethnographical Details

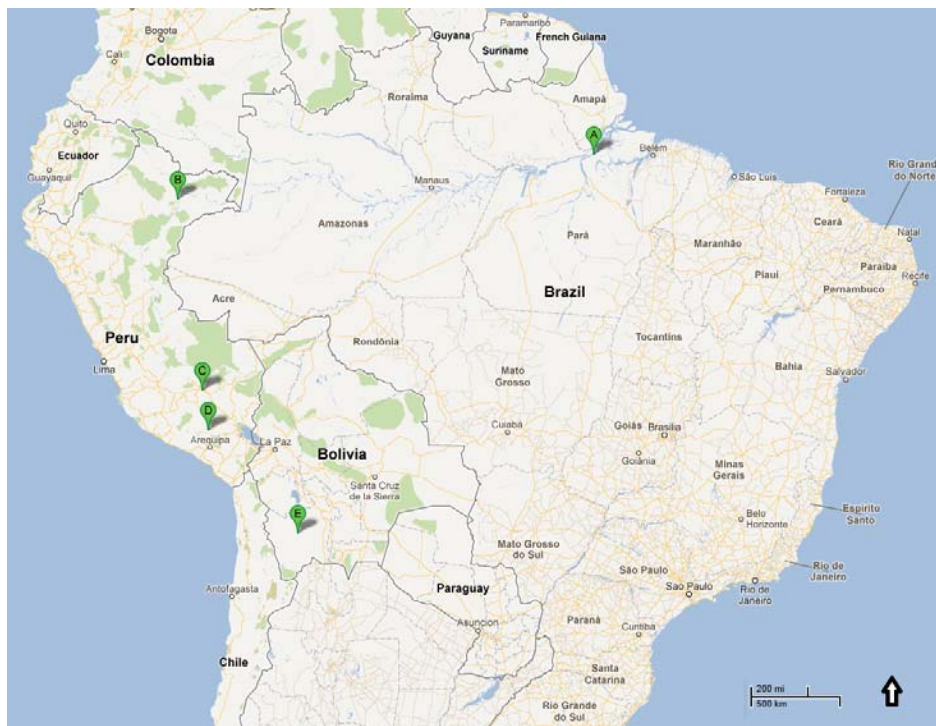
Using the major-pilot references, Rojas provided detailed information about the Amazon River. The longitude was established in reference to the south margin of the river. The Amazon River edged the equinoctial from the south side. The south margin extended to about 1600 Castilian leagues [4,160 miles], and the north margin extended probably more because it had more curves.⁷ No one really knew where the headwaters of the river were located. Some people believe it formed in the hills near Cuzco, others believed it formed in Potosí. The reason for such dispute was that the Amazon River meanders like a snake and bifurcates; where the branches joined was unknown.

Regardless whether it started in Cuzco or in Potosí its extension was probably more than

⁷ "El de las Amazonas, hoy S. Francisco del Quito, corre de Oriente a Poniente, esto es, como dice el navegante, Leste a Oeste [it refers to the path of the expedition, the Amazon River runs from west to east]. Desde la provincia de los Quijos, en el reino de Quito, hasta desaguar en el mar del Norte, hace siempre su curso vecino a la Equinoccial, a la banda del Sur, por dos grados, 3, 4, 5, 6 y dos tercios, en la mayor altura. Tiene de largobde la dicha provincia de los Quijos hasta la mar, donde desagua por una boca, 1600 leguas castellanas..." (sic) Alonso Rojas, *Descubrimiento del Rio de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias* in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 232.

2500 leagues [6500 miles]. The river's width changed a lot and at its mouth the width was 84 leagues [218.4 miles], while at its narrowest point, at two degrees and two thirds, it was one and half leagues. This narrowest point [Óbitos strait] was 300 leagues [780 miles] from the mouth. Heeding Teixeira's advice, Rojas suggested a fort in this area. In Rojas' words, this geographical feature was an excuse the river found to encourage the building of a fort to prevent the passage of powerful naval enemies. In addition, at this particular point the Amazon River's bottom could not be found, but the pilot considered it to be at least 40 fathoms [240 feet].

Figure 3.1_ Sketch map showing the main course of the Amazon River from Gurupá (A) to Iquitos (B), possible sources of the Amazon River as stated by Rojas: Cuzco (C) and Potosí (E), and the actual source of the river in Nevado Mismi (D).



Source: Google map data organized by the author.

Figure 3.2_Sketch map of the area of the Amazon River source.



Source: National Geographic

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2000/12/1221amazon_map.html<http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/5000/5307/ISS010-E-13029.jpg>>
(accessed August 08, 2012).

Figure 3.3_ Sketch of the Amazon River main course, important cities, source and mouth.



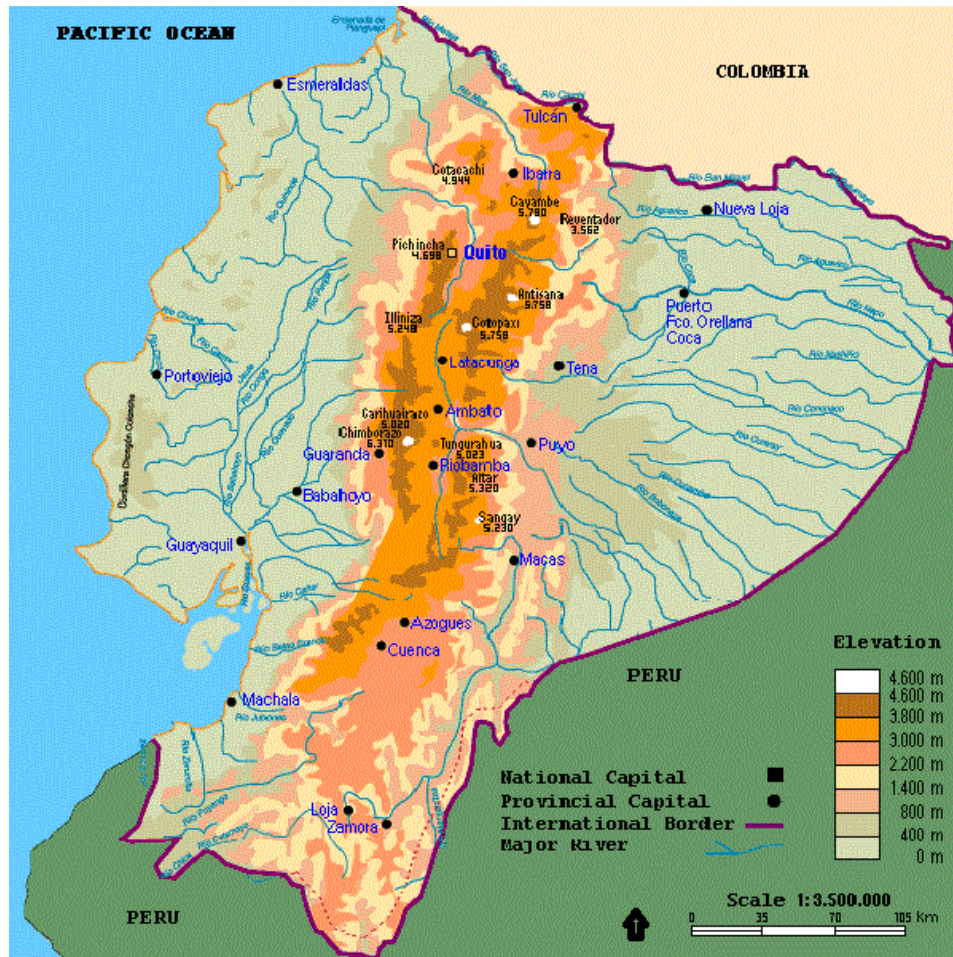
Source:< http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/ciencia/ciencia_agua17.htm> (accessed August 02, 2012).

Figure 3.4_ Sketch of the Amazon Basin drainage.



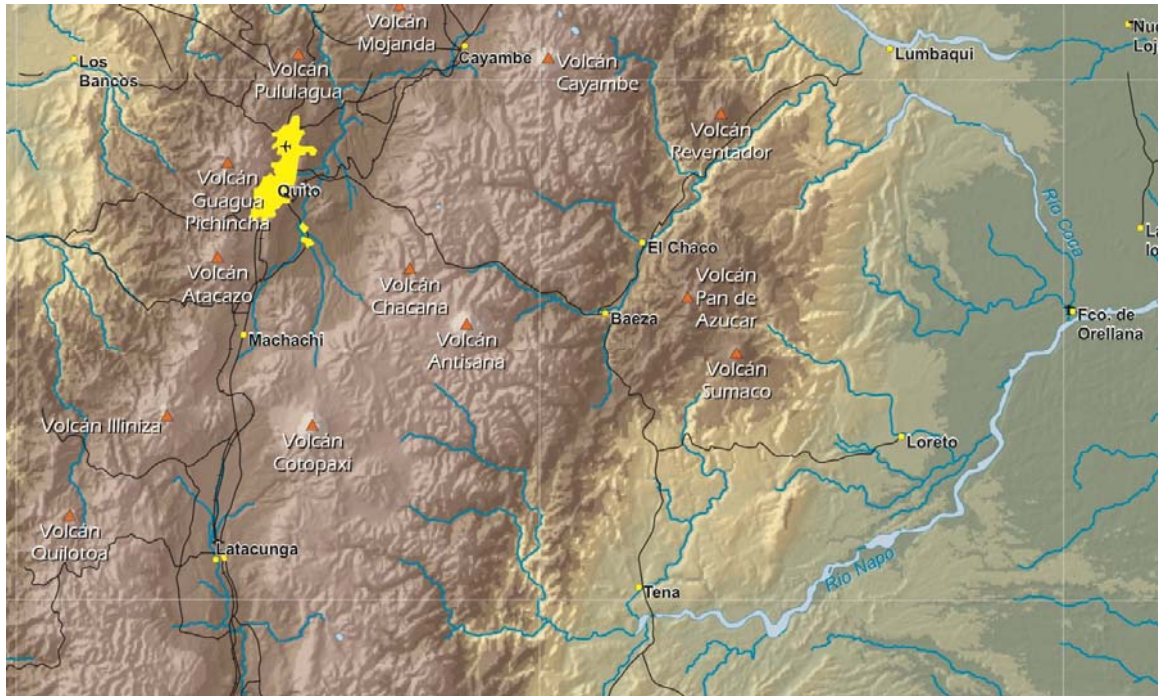
Source: < <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Amazonrivermap.png> > (accessed August 02, 2012) using the Digital Chart of the World and GTOPO data.

Figure 3.5_ Relief Map of Quito area.



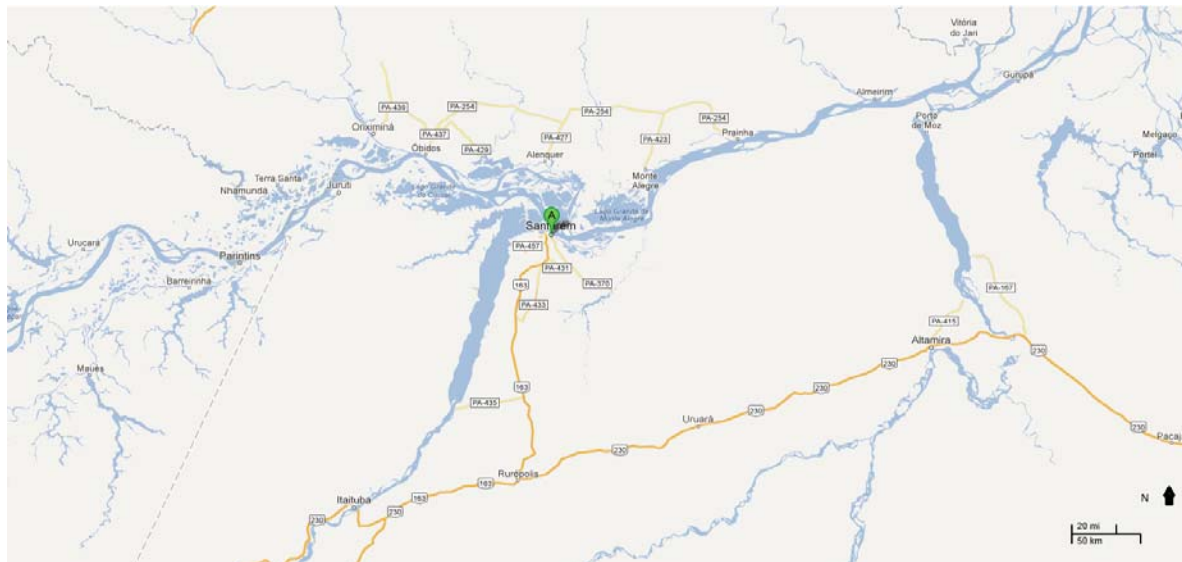
Source: < http://www.ecuadorexplorer.com/html/terrain_map.html > (accessed August 02, 2012).

Figure 3.6_ Detail of the Quito and Napo's areas, in particular Baeza, where Teixeira stopped on his way to Quito and Tena (today's capital of the Ecuadorian Napo Province, near Archidona from where the expedition departed to return to Pará), without scale.



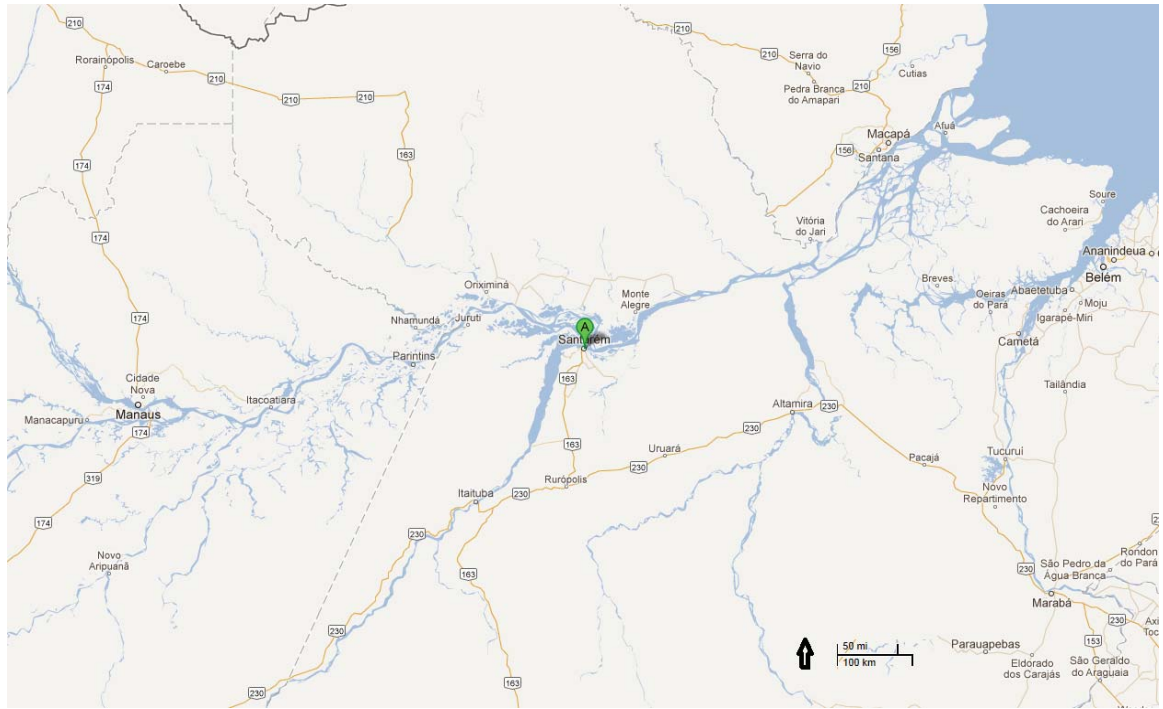
Source: Original map from United States Geological Survey (USGS)
 <http://geology.er.usgs.gov/eespteam/terrainmodeling/images/large/ecuador_srtm_low.pdf> (accessed August 2, 2012), manipulated by the author.

Figure 3.7_ Sketch map of Óbitos' area. It illustrates the area surrounding the strait [Óbitos], mentioned by Teixeira and Rojas. As a reference the map shows the town of Santarém, founded in 1661 relatively near to Óbitos.



Source: Google maps organized by the author.

Figure 3.8_ Sketch map showing the area at the mouth of the Amazon, and the city of Santarém near the strait of Óbitos.



Source: Google maps data organized by the author.

Figure 3.9_ Satellite image of the mouth of the Amazon.



Source: NASA <<http://photojournal.jpl.nasa.gov/catalog/PIA02643>> (accessed August 08, 2012).

Figure 3.10_ Picture of an Amazon River Island.



Source: <http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/5000/5307/ISS010-E13029.jpg>
(accessed August 8, 2012).

Commenting on the data observable in the map draw by the major-pilot, Rojas observed that along the Amazon River the shallowest points were found after 600 leagues [1560 miles] and when it reached the Negro River the depth increased. Similar to the Portuguese discourse, Rojas noted that large vessels could navigate through that portion of the river's course and that Spain's European enemies had already tried to do so. Even at its narrowest sections the river was deep and wide enough for ships to pass through and he noted the Amazon had currents like the sea. Like Teixeira, Rojas noted that, the "great river of the Amazons" had many islands, some small and others big. There were so many islands that they could not be counted. It was not possible to navigate even one league without encountering an island. The largest islands were between one [2.6 miles] and five leagues [13 miles] in length. He added that the Native populations inhabited the bigger islands and that they grew yucca and corn in the smaller islands. To protect their crops during the floods the Natives placed them in well-covered pits, retrieving the crops when the flood season was over. Rojas commented that "need always brings innovation," and that it was not surprising that need taught the Natives to save the foodstuffs on which their subsistence depended, by building storage areas into the bowels of the earth to save their grain and food.

Many rivers emptied in the Amazon, but the map indicated only the main tributaries. In the south, the most robust tributaries were the Madeira River, which dragged a lot of wood and whose mouth was one and a half leagues [3.9 miles] wide, and the Tunguaragua River that had a mouth of one league [2.6 miles]. In the north, the Negro, a very large river with black water and a mouth of one and a half leagues [3.9

miles] wide. Rojas commented that the major-pilot had navigated the Negro River for two or three days and was informed by the Natives that the Negro River had its headwaters in the mountains of the Nuevo Reino de Granada. From its source the Negro River split in two; after a long stretch one branch emptied into the Amazon River where it was called Negro while the other branch emptied itself in the North Sea (Mar do Norte), near Trinidad Island. Rojas commented that the people in the expedition believed that it might be the legendary Orinoco.

Along with the geographical description, the ethnography of the Amazon Basin was also an object of attention. The Amazon River was densely populated and so were its tributaries and the hinterland. The pilot traveled about three to four days in some of those tributary rivers and – as Rojas commented, the pilot said that each river was like a kingdom and the Amazon River was like the whole world. Therefore, the pilot believed that there were more indigenous people in the Amazon Basin than in the whole of the Indies. Rojas' interest in such ethnography was clear: to know about the Natives' culture was a necessary step to proceed with the religious conquest; even if all the missionaries from all the colonies worked in the Amazon area, they would all be busy and more priests would still be needed. Rojas commented on the Native villages located along the extension of the Amazon River; some were small, but many were quite large. He noted that the Portuguese had seen a village as large as one full day journey, from three hours before dawn to sunset. The religious desire for Native souls had great potential to be fulfilled.

Rojas also described the Franciscan contacts with the Omaguas and noted these people wore cotton shirts with sleeves of different colors, blue, yellow, orange, green, and red. From this information, Rojas surmised that the Omaguas had vegetable or wood dyes. In addition, Rojas described the Franciscans' meeting with the Trapajosos [Tapajós]. The description does not mention any wrong doing by the Natives. In contrast to Teixeira's narrative, Rojas says that the Natives welcomed the friars and the soldier and motioned them to follow upriver; their large village was located on the river margins. The Tapajós housed the visitors in a very large dwelling that had woodcarvings covered with cotton blankets woven in yarns of different colors. The guests received a hammock made of palm leaves and embroidered with threads of different colors and were offered *cazave* (sic) [cassava root] and fish to eat. In that village, the Franciscans saw skulls, muskets, pistols and cloth shirts; later, they informed the Portuguese that those Indians had killed some Dutchmen who came up to those provinces.⁸

Using the Portuguese descriptions, Rojas commented on the continuous state of warfare between the Native nations. He described their weapons, gave some details about the Omaguas and Tapajós fighting styles and advanced some generalizations regarding the reasons behind the indigenous wars. He said they used arrows, darts and other similar

⁸“Estes mismos soldados y dos religiosos, cuando bajaron el río, llegaron a unas dilatadas provincias, cuyos habitantes llaman los portugueses los *Estrapajosos* [italic in the original]. Estos agasajaron a los religiosos y soldados y por señas les dijeron que fuesen con ellos por un río arriba, en cuya orilla hallaron una población grande. Entráronlos en una casa muy grande con maderas labradas, con galdas, con mantas de algodón entretejidas en ellas hilos de diversos colores, en donde pusieron una hamaca para cada uno de los huéspedes, de palmito, labrada con diferentes colores, y les dieron de comer cazave y pescado. En esta población vieron los soldados Calaveras de hombres, arbabuces, pistolas y camisas de lienzo; y avisando desto después a los portugueses, les dijeron que aquellos indios habían muerto algunos holandeses que llegaron hasta aquellas provincias, cuyas eran aquellas Calaveras y armas.” Alonso Rojas, *Descubrimiento del Río de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias* in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 244-245.

weapons in which the Omagua were very proficient. Also, he noted that the Tapajós people were very good with poison arrows, and there was no known antidote to the poison used. He noted that at least some, if not all of the nations, were cannibals [Caribs]. He surmised that the main reason for their wars was the fact they appreciated human flesh and ate their prisoners, but they also fought to take territory away from others.

In Rojas' interpretation the Omaguas were located very near the province of the Culiman [Solimões]. In his description the province had over 200 leagues [520 miles] extension and had gold, which he deduced because the Natives had gold ornaments hanging from their ears and noses. Rojas affirmed that the Portuguese brought some of these objects. The Portuguese did not penetrate the hinterland in this area, but the Natives on the river beaches said that the gold came from the mountains nearby, where it existed in abundance. The Natives also said that if they wanted more it was easy to obtain; they just dug up the soil and took as much as they wanted. One of the gold plates collected was hung from a finely crafted gold cord. Rojas surmised that cord have been made by Natives with goldsmithing skills. There was no interpreter to ask the Natives who the craftsperson was, or where he or she could be found.

Rojas' report on the Omaguas location and description seems different from Teixeira's. The Solimões River, denominated so because in the area some Native nations used highly poison arrows, derives its name from the word poison in Latin. Teixeira observed that the Omaguas' area was several leagues after the area of very poison arrows

which was near the Negro River.⁹ The province where the Portuguese found gold was also way before the Omaguas province [from the point of view of a person ascending the Amazon River – east to west]. It seems that Rojas in his report included several Natives provinces into the Omaguas’ domains because the Omaguas were the closest Native nation to Spanish settlements. In terms of political and territorial claims, such contact with the Native nations was essential to presume the European territorial conquest. However, Rojas’ comments on these metal resources are also revealing of other Europeans issues regarding the Natives. The soldiers had found a great amount of copper and signs of silver indicating that these lands had great mineral wealth. Nevertheless, as the soldiers observed, “no one can enjoy such wealth” due to the control of the barbarians over the area.¹⁰

Rojas’ report reveals the contradictions between the facts of the expedition and the political interests of Quito. Rojas admits that because of the arrival of the two missionaries of Saint Francis and the six soldiers and the information they provided about the river they navigated, the governor [of Maranhão] decided to send knowledgeable people to discover the entire Amazon River and to reach the city of Quito. The expedition members informed Rojas that to accomplish this discovery, the governor had appointed Pedro Teixeira and sent a fleet of 47 large canoes, 70 soldiers and 1200 Natives and their

⁹ The map attached to Rojas’ report does not clarify this issue; my assumptions are based on Teixeira’s report.

¹⁰ “Hallaron también los soldados en algunas partes plata y señales de ella y mucho cobre, y se presume ser tierra de muy ricos minerales y que, como está en poder de bárbaros, no se provechan de su riqueza, Alonso Rojas, Descubrimiento del Rio de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 249.

wives and children, about 2,500 people. At the beginning of August 1637, they left Pará.¹¹ The voyage to Quito took a long time because they went very slowly checking rivers and marking possible ports. The major-pilot, who recorded the directions and the distances, said that it was possible to navigate upriver in two months. In addition, this experienced pilot, who took notes about the territory and its potential, affirmed that there were so many Natives in the Amazon Basin that if one dropped a needle in a haystack it would fall on a Native's head, not on the floor.

Re-writings: the Expedition and the Native

Rojas not only reproduced the Portuguese discourse, but also called attention to the supposed causes of the expedition. In explaining such causes, Rojas reported the facts in a manner that clearly attempted to re-interpret the expedition as an achievement of Quito. In his narrative, the expedition, which was a result of a political decision taken in Maranhão, was re-written as an event that originated in Quito.¹² The map attached to Rojas' report is an iconographical representation of this rhetorical construction (see figure 3.11 with the symbol of Quito strategically placed at the mouth of the Amazon River). Quito is at the very top as the 'queen' of all the provinces on the Amazon River. Both the map and the report show that the political actors in Quito were very concerned

¹¹ This thesis presents different numbers, names, and some of the facts of the expedition due the sources' different details on dates, names and facts. For example, the information here is as provided in Rojas'. See Idid, 242.

¹² "Bien se pueden gloriarse Babilonia de sus muros, Ninive de su grandeza, Athenas de sus letras, Constantinopla de su imperio, que Quito las vence por llave de la Cristandad y por conquistadora del Mundo. A esta ciudad, pues, pertenece el descubrimiento del rio grande de que ahora hablamos." Idid, 232

to represent the expedition in a different manner than it occurred. Indeed, there is an attempt to re-write the Portuguese expedition as a historical event under Quito's control. Rojas opened his report praising Quito for its new discovery. In Rojas' words, God had elected again that "metropolis" of that vast empire for the new discovery of the River of the Amazons. The Amazon River was under the jurisdiction and government of Quito, the keystone of the New Christianity, which was destined to bring into subjection all those provinces and those who governed them. In other words, Quito would subordinate all the nations found on the Amazon River.

As much as the authorities in Peru were concerned with outfitting the expedition as a political asset of Quito, Rojas was interested in portraying the Natives under the hegemony of his religious institution. For Rojas, the accidental trip of Fr. Domingos de Brieva and Fr. André de Toledo and the discovery of the River of the Amazons resulted from divine intervention. Rojas affirms that the desire to discover the Amazon River was intense and many men attempted to travel it from the ocean and from the Kingdom of Quito. Rojas selected geographical terms that helped his claim to the primacy of Quito. Quito's political control is emphasized regarding the Amazon River source, when Rojas affirms the attempts of conquest departing from Quito; in fact the choice of words in that statement enlarges the territorial control of Quito.¹³ In contrast, when referring to the Amazon River mouth, the Portuguese political control is dismissed, or at least diminished, and the geographical feature is highlighted. Rojas privileges divine intervention and the actions of the religious orders as well as those of Quito, the center of the Spanish South-American political power. Rojas argues that the expedition actually started in Quito, not in Pará, and was launched by the religious friars and not for political reasons.

Rojas' affirms that God favored the expedition because divine help assisted the friars. To support his argument Rojas presents seven reasons. First, the friars decided to follow the right margin [south when descending the Amazon River] due of a divine sign.

¹³ Territory is a political term that in the academic geography refers to the political control of an area and its societies. In other words, it does not refer only to the physical features (often called geographical features), but also to the political control over people by specific groups or governments.

When in doubt about which side to choose, the discoverers wrote pieces of papers with the name of saints and twice they picked the piece of paper with Saint George's name, which indicated the right margin. Second, the canoe started to take on water, but Fr. Domingos covered the hole and by miracle the canoe was repaired and they could continue travelling. Third, when they reached the Portuguese fort the same canoe sunk immediately. Fourth, while in the Carib's territory, the "barbarian enemies" offered supplies instead of harming the travelers.¹⁴ Fifth, the soldiers affirmed that Fr. Domingo in the name of Jesus healed Natives by touch. After such statements, Rojas had no doubts about God's miracles. However, he did not understand how the Natives could not see God's will.

Rojas ties the discovery of Amazon River to the work of conversion and his narrative portrayss the Native with an assumption of cultural [religious] inferiority. The European representation of the Amazon relied on an analysis of the Natives that justified the subjugation of their societies and territories. Along the report Rojas questioned how theses people could not see that God wanted to spread the faith to them? In other words, the Natives were assumed to be culturally errant and therefore in need of subjugation and correction. The Society of Jesus was the institution to guide these people to the right path of political subordination under the authority of Quito, the Spanish King, and most of all, of God.

¹⁴ The term Carib was a general name given to cannibals.

Rojas discussed the religious work in the area the expedition had explored. In accordance with Rojas, the only Christians along the Amazon River were those Natives the Portuguese converted in their settlements, especially in Maranhão and Grão Pará, and as Rojas reminded the reader, many of these priests of the Society of Jesus indoctrinated those Portuguese. The priests visited, converted, and baptized. The Society of Jesus' missions tirelessly responded to the spiritual needs and tried to convert many souls. To highlight the role of the Society of Jesus, Rojas skillfully quoted Fr. Domingos on the number of Christians in the area. Rojas used some statements from a fellow from the competing religious order, the Franciscans, to make his case and to support the supremacy of the Society of Jesus. If Rojas had made a direct comment it might have sounded prejudiced because he was a Jesuit highlighting the importance of his own religious order. The manner in which Rojas presented the argument made it seem objective because it was not a Jesuit statement about the importance of the Society of Jesus' missions, but supposedly a Franciscan comment defending the Jesuit role in the conversions. The role of the Society of Jesus was justified, and its mission to convert "the extensive flock that would otherwise be subject to addictions and the devil" was encouraged. Rojas' argument presupposes that only the Society of Jesus could provide the evangelical workers needed in that vast territory in which "infinite souls" were condemned due to lack of proselytization, "leaving the field open to Lucifer to reign in such vast provinces and be worshiped by these wretches, who live in the darkness and in the shadow of death without the light of the holy Gospel."¹⁵

¹⁵*"Desengañáñense, no hay cristianos en este gran mundo descubierto sino los que doctrinan los benditos*

In Rojas' opinion the Native people of the Amazon River "those unfaithful people" – as he called them, were waiting with open doors to receive God's ministers and in the report Rojas called on the King to provide missionaries to save those souls from spiritual death and bring them to heaven. Rojas argued that the inhabitants of the Amazon River and its tributaries were many, and that these nations had different cultures. Rojas stated that some Natives were "courageous," but the majority was "not violent." As he said, none was "like a beast" and they did not worship "false gods."¹⁶ Dismissing evidence for indigenous rituals, Rojas affirmed they did not perform rituals and had no priests. Instead they had sorcerers, who queried the devil and who, in turn, responded through oracles misleading them. In the Amazon Basin, almost all the Natives went about naked; the males wore no clothing at all, and the females used a loincloth that reached above the waist.

When the voice of the pilot of the expedition is suppressed, the Natives in Rojas' analysis are represented less as a barbarian and violent enemy and rather as a spiritual asset. They are people considered of an inferior/ aberrant standard who should be raised

Padres de la Compañía de Jesús [italics in the original]. Todo este copioso rebaño está sin pastor, vendido a sus vicios y sujeto al Demonio, condenándose cada día infinitas almas por falta de obreros evangélicos, dejando el campo libre a Lucifer, para que reine en tan vastas provincias y sea adorado de aquellos miserables que viven en ténblas y sombra de la muerte, si que haya quien los alumbre con la luz del santo Evangelio." Alonso Rojas, Descubrimiento del Río de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 243.

¹⁶ "Las naciones habitan e el río principal y sus adjuntos, son muchas y de diferentes constumbres; las más no son belicosas, algunas tienen valor, pero ninguna de ellas es muy brava ni diera; esto se entiende en lo descubierto, porque no hay noticia de las demás naciones que habitan la tierra firme. Todos son idólatras que adoran dioses altos; no tiene ritos ni ceremonias para venerarlos, ni templos de sus ídolos, ni sacerdotes. A los hechiceros temen, a quienes consultan, y éstos al Demonio, de quien reciben oráculos y con embustes engaña a los miserables indios" Idid, 243.

to the higher/ right one. They are people who should be considered able to make their own choices, and in need of guidance and proper governance. In practice, the Natives are subjected to a cultural-religious analysis, which is the key to justify their political subjugation and territorial loss. In Rojas' narrative, the Native is a religious conquest and the full navigation of the Amazon River was the achievement of Quito's religious and political institutions.¹⁷ Rojas ends these remarks by defending two main points: the material and the spiritual interests of the King in the Amazon conquest. Rojas argued that the fortresses the pilot suggested might work as "a material presence" and as a sign of possession of the territory, but Rojas emphasized the urgency to proceed with the missionary conversion; the spiritual interest linked with the Jesuit mission to convert the indigenous populations.

Mapping the other side

Even though it is not the main focus of the report, Rojas also provided further details on the Portuguese colonies around the Amazon River mouth. In fact, it seems like Rojas is mapping the Portuguese defenses if, and when, the Spanish wished to attack the area. Rojas described São Luís do Maranhão, Belém do Pará, Cametá, and Gurupá giving some details about the historical background on the conquest of the area by the Portuguese. His comments cover the religious institutions, the defensive structures like the features of the fortress, geographical locations, and conditions of access to the

¹⁷ It is implied in Rojas' analysis that the this new discovery of the navigation on the Amazon was an achievement of the Saint Francis missionaries and the Royal Audience in Quito, but under the Society of Jesus supervision.

Portuguese towns. The authorities in Quito and Bogotá would like to make sure Madrid had all the necessary information to deal with the Portuguese in the mouth of the river. In January 1640, using Rojas' report received from Bogotá and produced in Quito, the Council in Madrid gave its opinion that the Portuguese should be put under control of the Castillian Crown.¹⁸ The Portuguese should be prevented from the navigation they had discovered in Peru, expelled from their territory in the mouth of the river, and put under the control of the Castillian Crown.¹⁹

Considering the context, it was important to Quito to take into account several details of the surroundings of the Amazon River mouth and even in São Luís do Maranhão. On the south margin 130 leagues [338 miles] from Pará and located toward E-SE there was São Luís do Maranhão, two degrees and two-thirds south, the city was located at the mouth of the Maranhão River, which emptied into the sea.²⁰ In Rojas' words, Maranhão was the Portuguese "metropolis" in this area and he starts his description with the religious institutions. There were three convents in this city: one of St. Francis (Franciscans), another of the Carmelites and one of the Society of Jesus. In

¹⁸ For further reference in the process to place the Portuguese Crown under the control of the Castillian Crown see Jean-Frederic Schaub. *Portugal na monarquia hispânica 1580-1640*.

¹⁹ "...comv. tes de que los Portugueses, dejen esta voca y Prov.^a de el Marañon que tienen Usurpada a la corona de Castilla, y se restituan, y pongan debaso de el gobierno della y deste consejo, y echo esto se presidie la voca el el dho rrio, y otras Angosturas que se han descubierto en su Navegazion..." Count of Castrillo and other members of the Council of Indies opinion to the Philip IV of Spain, *Consulta de el Consejo de Indias azerca de la entrada que hizo el Capitan Pedro Tejeira, por el Rio de Amazonas, al Peru*, [Madrid, January, 28, 1640], Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira," 204.

²⁰ Alonso Rojas, Descubrimiento del Rio de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 239-240.

Pará there were two convents: a Franciscan and a Carmelite. He observed that the Portuguese settlements did not have more than six priests to administer the sacraments to such great multitude of people, and questioned how evangelic ministers zealous for the salvation of souls could tolerate such helplessness. These priests had to heal the souls and to teach all the people in those villages the Christian doctrine.²¹ He noted that three years earlier, Father Luís Figueira, a Jesuit, had left the area to inform the Crown of the situation and to request more missionaries to teach the faith to the countless Natives. Rojas's disparaging comments were meant to emphasize how the Portuguese had been remiss in attending to the Christianization of the local Native populations.

Rojas added some historical background on the Portuguese presence and used it to supply further information on the geography of the area and its human resources. He stated that the French founded the city of São Luís do Maranhão. However, Jeronimo de Albuquerque and Gaspar de Sousa killed 600 French enemies and took over the city, which since then became a Portuguese village and had a radius of 18 leagues [46.8 miles].²² The Portuguese also described to Rojas, that they had won over indigenous people from the coast, who traded with the Dutch and the French. The Portuguese said to Rojas that when they defeated the French, Dutch, and the indigenous people allied to those enemies, which were infesting the coast of Brazil, and that they found more than 60

²¹ Ibid, 240.

²² The colonial general-governor of Brazil, Gaspar de Sousa (1550? –1627?) from Bahia ordered the authorities in Pernambuco to send military expeditions departing from Paraíba, and Ceará to retake the capitancy of Maranhão under French occupation. Under his orders, the captain Jerônimo de Albuquerque Maranhão (1548- 1618), who was born in Pernambuco of a Portuguese noble and the daughter of the Tabajará chief, commanded the reconquest of Maranhão as being described by Rojas.

indigenous villages with over 300 warriors each. Rojas comments that it was easy for the Portuguese to build the city because neither the Indigenous in the area were able to oppose them [the Portuguese] nor had the French, English, and Dutch consolidated their settlements in the area. Therefore, those provinces had been under the Crown of Portugal's control for 18 years after consolidation of their power in Pará, which Rojas describes as in the mouth of the Amazon River, "a la orilla que cae a la part del Sul "(sic).²³

Rojas noted that in the Portuguese villages there were very few white women, so – reproducing the Portuguese speech - if Spain sent women they would be very welcomed. Rojas comments regarding the colonial population may imply that miscegenation was occurring between the Portuguese and the Indigenous women in the area, and the potential alliances between the Indigenous and the Portuguese. In addition, Rojas highlights that in the Portuguese villages the Indigenous population already converted to Christianity was about one million people, and that they spoke different languages, but understood a general language common along Brazil's coast. He also noted that many Indigenous nations of the Amazon also understood this language, indicating that this *lingua franca* could be used to communicate with many of the Indigenous in the mouth of the river as well as with those along the Amazon River. In case of a Spanish attempted to invade the Amazon mouth, this type of knowledge about the settlements would be useful.

²³ Alonso Rojas, Descubrimiento del Rio de Las Amazonas y sus Dilatadas Provincias in Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 238.

However, Rojas' biggest concern was to delineate the Portuguese military installations, giving details on the fortresses (also called castles) and ammunition capacity. For instance, Rojas describes that Belém do Pará had a "Castle" in front of a horseshoe-shaped cove in which there was a ledge covered with tiles to protect the guns. He explains that the Portuguese in Belém had 20 pieces of artillery, which supported heavy and light ammunition. He describes that the Portuguese had cannons to support a maximum of 30 pounds ammunition. Also, the fortress had a stone building to store the ammunition and another for the captain of the fort. The soldiers lived in the surrounding area together with the Indigenous. In addition, this castle was guarded with a wall and a moat and its entrance was protected by two doors. The next town described by Rojas was Camuta [Cametá]. (See figure 3.8). Rojas says it was 40 leagues [104 miles] from Belém, up stream on the Amazon River and in the mouth of the Tocantins River, but it had no defenses.

However, 100 leagues [260 miles] farther there was a Portuguese "castle," where the Franciscan missionaries from Quito arrived, named Gurupá. This fortress was built on a hill on the Amazon River's margin. The castle had a platform with four artillery pieces, which seemed to be able to launch cannon balls of 4, 5, 7, and 8 pounds.²⁴ These artillery pieces were in wooden carts at low level and facing the river, and were protected by a

²⁴ Subiendo el río arriba 40 leguas, hay otra población pequeña de portugueses a la banda del Sur, que llaman *Comutá* [italics in the original], la cual no tiene defensa ni fuerte. Más arriba, cien leguas dél está el Castillo de los portugueses adonde llegaron los dos religiosos y seis soldados que dijimos bajaran derrotados por el río, está fabricada la dicha Fortaleza en un lugar alto, a la orilla del río, con plataforma y en ella cuatro piezas de artillería de hierro colado, la una de 4 y la otra de 5 y la otra de 7 y la otra de 8 libras de bala, compuesta en carretones de Madeira bajos encarados al río, con parapetos hasta los pechos," (sic), Ibid, 239.

parapet with height up to the level of a man's chest. Also, there was a house for the storage of weapons and an ammunition depot. A stonewall surrounded the site. Outside the wall there was a moat with a drawbridge; when the drawbridge was raised the fort was well protected. Around the site lived Portuguese soldiers and as Rojas added, there were Native settlements nearby. The Dutch had attacked the fort several times and even had tried to settle on the north margin of the river. After more than 10 attempts, the Portuguese soldiers finally defeated the Dutch, taking more than 1600 prisoners. Among the war spoils, the Portuguese collected a large ship with 20 pieces of artillery and imprisoned – as the Portuguese expressed, a great pilot called Matamatigo.²⁵

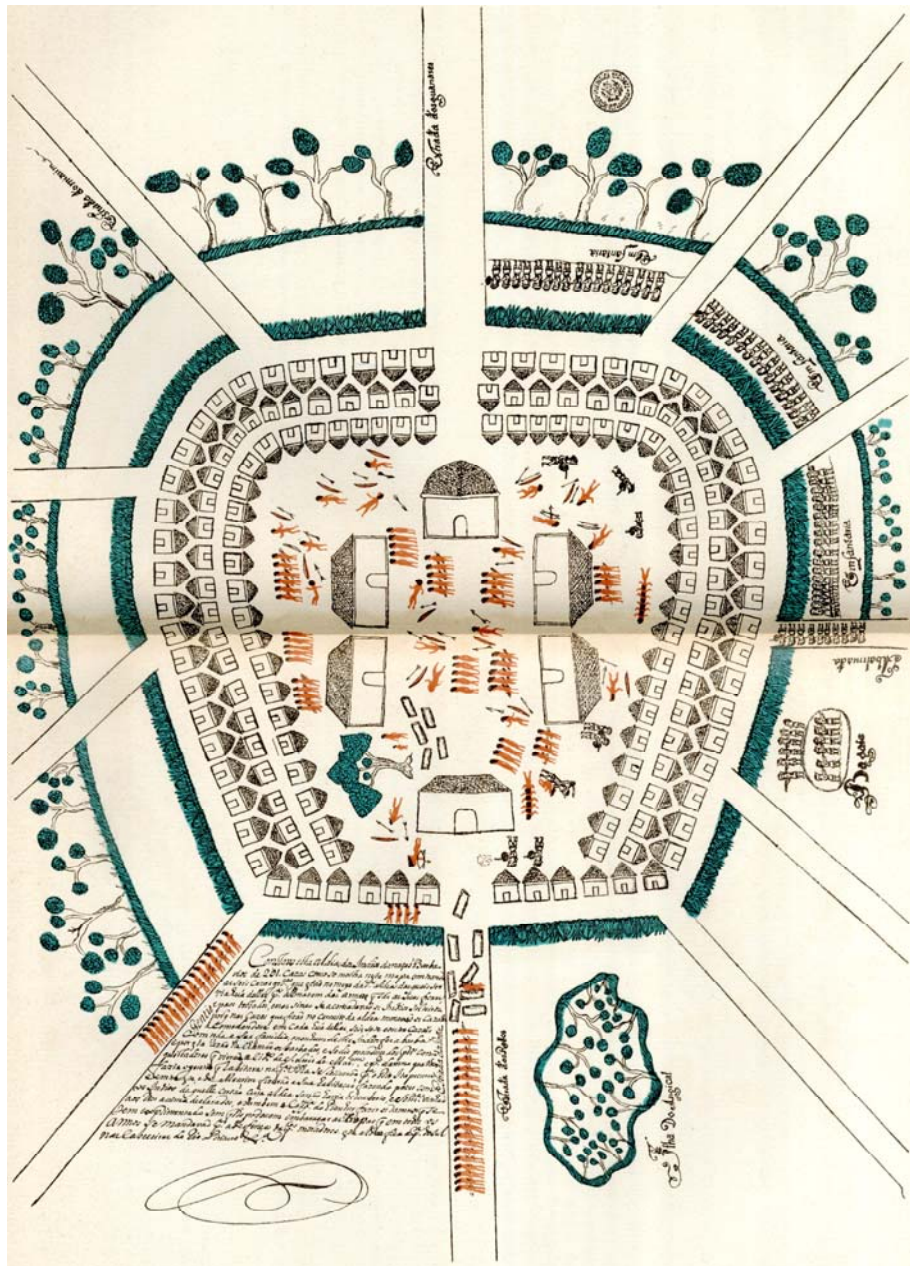
Finally, Rojas mapped the Portuguese side of the river on the mouth as a first step to highlight to the Spanish Crown the potential problems related to the discovery of the Amazon River. As the letter the President of the Audience of Quito on May 1639 to the Crown would further clarify, the new discovery of the river raised several problems. First, the river's geography, its size and its connection to all the important rivers in the Amazon Basin constituted a territorial issue. Second, once it became known how to navigate the course of the Amazon River that knowledge would spread and be available to others. Third, the main issue as stated by Perez de Salazar, the Portuguese colonization style, which claimed conquest by incorporating the Natives in their binary discourse of

²⁵ For further information about the major-pilot and this so called Matamatigo see George Edmudson, "The Voyage of Pedro Teixeira." Edmudson argues that this pilot was essential to the Portuguese navigation on the Amazon River.

Native-friends and Native-enemies.²⁶ This colonization-incorporation required few resources and brought many geopolitical revenues. The act of contact with the Natives was assumed as an act of possession of the territory without the expenses of a cultural-religious subjugation. In fact, this approach acculturated the Natives, as soldiers and sexual partners –as the documents from Quito (Roja’s report and other letters from Peru) implied, and as I argue it would be very effective in taking territorial possession as well.

²⁶ “I aunque sus fuerzas son pocas para hazer nuevas Poblaciones, como ellos en las conquistas que hazen no sugenta a los Indios, a que tributen nin a que sean xptianos, no aim as conquistas que gazer pazes con ellos, y hazen dellos mismos soldados, con que entran con estos a otras Provinzias de Indios, a cautivarlos, en que tienen su parte esto mismos Indios que llaman Amigos ô compadres, y Naturalmente, el indio se haze valiente a la sombra del español, y solo por matar y quitarles las mugeres, irian, y se encarnizan en esta Guerra ô por major dezir Carniseria. De que concludio, que a los Portugueses, no les es dificultoso pazificar con estas condiziones, y me dezian, que con los indios, que venieron con ellos pudieran sujeitar gran parte de las poblaciones de este rrio, porque la miserable gente que no ha peleado con estos que les sirven de soldados, en provando la mano, con ellos, quedan mui temerosos para huir, ô rendirse. Quarquiera poblacion que hagan sea en la Provinzia de los Omaguas ô en otra qualquiera parte de este Rio, hade ser mui perniziosa para todas estas Provinzias, esto represento a V. M. com una de las cosas mas Importante para la conservazion de ellas, u con esta considerazion escrivi la carta, de quinze de Noviembre en que concluy que de ninguna forma conviene darles lugar, a que ellos pueblos, aunque con nombre de fortaleza, contra los olandeses, en aquel sitio, ” Alonso Perez de Salazar, *Informazion de el Liz. dº D.º Alonso Perez de Salazar Presidente de la Audiencia de Quito, en que da quenta, de la resoluzion que se tomo en la buelta de los Portugueses a las Provinzias del Marañon* [Quito, May 29 in Jaime Cortesão, “O significado da Expedição,” 200.

Figure 3.14_ Drawing of Indigenous Village. [Maranhão, 17th century, anonymous].



Source: Antônio Baião, Hernâni Cidade, Manuel Múrias, *História da Expansão Portuguesa no mundo*.

Chapter Four: Behind Ethno-Geography

On December 12, 1639 the expedition landed at Pará. It carried Cristóbal de Acuña and Andrés de Artieda, Jesuit priests designated by Quito to accompany the expedition on the return voyage.¹ Artieda was a lecture professor in Theology and the backup reporter in case something happened to Acuña, who was co-founder of the College of the Society of Jesus in Cuenca, Calificador of the Inquisition, and brother of Juan Vázquez de Acuña, an important official in Peru.² The Royal Audience of Quito designated Acuña to prepare a detailed inventory of the geography and of the Natives of the Amazon Basin, to provide key information on the economic potential of the region. He was to prepare an objective description of the provinces, distances, rivers and way of life of the Natives. As the Viceroy commanded, Acuña's job was to keep his eyes on the Portuguese, delve and inquire into knowledge produced during the expedition, and finally deliver to the Castilian Crown a full report needed for the orderly planning and conquest of the Amazon Basin.

¹ "Cláusula de la provisión real que dio la Audiencia de Quito, en nombre de su Majestade para este descubrimiento," [January 24, 1639], Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, ed. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Diez Borque y Gonzalo Santonja, 59.

² Cristóbal de Acuña was born in Burgos at 1597. He became a Jesuit in 1612 and prior to arriving in Quito he was a missionary in Chile. In 1634, Acuña was one of the founders and was the first rector [President] of the College of the Society of Jesus in Cuenca. "Estudio Preliminar," in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Diez Borque, and Gonzalo Santonja, 18.

Cuenca was under the Jurisdiction of Quito as Acuña reports. *Ibid*, 77.

Figure 4.1_Front page of Acuña's report.

N V E V O
DESCVBRIMIENTO
N DEL GRAN RIO DE LAS
AMAZONAS.

POR EL PADRE CHRSTOVAL
de Acuña, Religioso de la Compañia de
Iesus, y Calificador de la Suprema
General Inquificion.

AL QVAL FVE, Y SE HIZO POR ORDEN
de su Magestad, el año de 1639.

POR LA PROVINCIA DE QVITO
en los Reynos del Perú.

AL EXCELENTISSIMO SEÑOR CONDE
Duque de Oliuarez.



Con licencia; En Madrid, en la Imprenta del Reyno,
año de 1641.

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de la Amazonas*, *Sabin Americana*.

The Spanish Conquest

Published in Madrid in 1641, Acuña's report re-wrote and recast the expedition as a Spanish achievement. The key position of Quito and the Society of Jesus on the conquest of the Amazon Basin was still the main focus, though Spain was preeminent. Like Rojas, Acuña emphasized God's will to allow the Franciscans to descend the great river but Acuña complemented the religious causation with "pragmatic" motives. Acuña assumed the Spanish Crown not only allowed this expedition to happen, but it promoted other Portuguese expeditions on the Amazon. Acuña pointed out that Philip III of Spain had requested that the Portuguese authorities explore the Amazon River mouth. Acuña made a compelling case that this expedition was a Spanish "new discovery" launched by its Portuguese subjects. Acuña argued as if the expedition had been ordered by the Spanish Crown even though the discussions between the authorities in Peru and Madrid showed that was not the case.

The Royal Charter of 1595 in which Philip II of Spain prohibited communication between the colonies of Spain and Portugal was still guiding the authorities in Peru.³ This Royal Charter commanded the Spanish representatives in Peru to prevent the Portuguese from attempting to open and consolidate communications between Brazil and Peru.⁴ On May 19, 1639, the President of the Audience of Quito pointed out to Phillip IV that

³ The full content of this 1595 Royal Chart was presented in Chapter one.

⁴ The Viceroyalty of Peru was composed of the Royal Audience of Panamá (1538), the Royal Audience of Lima (1543), the Royal Audience of Santa Fé de Bogotá (1548), the Royal Audience of La Plata de los Charcas (1559), the Royal Audience of Quito (1563), and the Royal Audience of Chile (1563-1573; 1606).

because of the reasons presented in the Royal Charter, the Audience of Quito and the Viceroy preferred to avoid and conceal navigation on the Amazon River, but given the expedition, they could no longer do so. On May 29, D. Martin de Saavedra y Guzman, the President of the Royal Audience of Santa Fé de Bogotá alerted Phillip IV as well. He underlined that measures should be taken to ban such navigation and to expel the Portuguese from the area. Together with Rojas' report and map, Saavedra y Guzman sent a copy of the 1595 Royal Chart issued by Philip II reminding Phillip IV of its contents. On June 23, in a letter to D. Garcia Mendez de Haro, Count of Castillo and the President of Indies Council in Madrid, again Bogotá addressed the Charter's issue regarding the expedition and asked the Council to act.⁵ In January 1640, the Council answered these appeals, instructing that Jácome Raymundo de Noronha should be punished by his decision to send an expedition to an area in which the navigation should have been covert.⁶

In addition to defending the role of Madrid, Acuña was very concerned to demonstrate the veracity and legality of his report. Therefore, previous to the actual publication of the report by Imprenta del Reino, he provided the Crown with six important documents. First was the Memorial presented to the King and the Royal

⁵ Letter from D. Martin de Saavedra y Guzman, Governor and Captain General of the Novo Reino de Granada to Phillip IV [Bogotá, May 29, 1639], in C. Melo-Leitão, *Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas*, 85-86.

⁶ “que sea gravement repreendido y castigado, el dho Jácome Raymundo de Noronha Govr. Que dize ser de las Provas. De San Luis de el Marañon por haber se atrevido sin consultar y liza. De V. M. a hazer las dhas entradas y Navegaciones, y descubrir los senos de las del Peru, que aun quando estubieron mui patentes se avian de procurar encobrir y vorrar de la Mema. A de los ombres.” Count of Castrillo and other members of the Council of Indies opinion to the Philip IV of Spain, *Consulta de el Consejo de Indias azerca de la entrada que hizo el Capitan Pedro Tejeira, por el Rio de Amazonas, al Peru*, [Madrid, January, 28, 1640], Jaime Cortesão, “O significado da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira,” 204.

Council of the Indies about the discovery after the Rebellion of Portugal. This Memorial was presented separately from the “relación” and was probably presented after the Portuguese Revolution of December 1, 1640.⁷ Second, the Presentation Letter to the Count Duke of Olivares, who would deliver the report to Philip IV. Third, the [Address] To the Reader warning that the facts presented had unbiased testimonies [witnesses] to credit the report. Fourth, the Certification of Major-Captain of the discovery Pedro Tejeira [Teixeira]. Fifth, the Certification of Reverend Father Commissioner of Mercy;⁸ and Sixth, the Royal Chart issued by the Audience of Quito⁹.

⁷ *Memorial presentado en el Real Consejo de las indias sobre el dicho descubrimiento después del Rebelión de Portugal* in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds Ignacio Areliano, José M. Diez Borque y Gonzalo Santonia, 164-170. Along the text, Acuña addresses the King. Therefore, my translation includes the *Memorial* as a document to both the King and the Council.

⁸ *Certificación del reverendo padre comisario de las Mercedes* in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds Ignacio Areliano, José M. Diez Borque y Gonzalo Santonia, 58

⁹ *Cláusula de la Provisión Real que dio la Audiencia de Quito* in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds Ignacio Areliano, José M. Diez Borque y Gonzalo Santonia, 59-60.

Figure 4.2_ Acuña's address to the Reader.


AL LECTOR.

NAcieron (curioso Lector) tan hermanadas, en las cosas grandes, la nouedad, y el descredito, que no parecen si no gemelos de vn parto; y que por el mesmo caso que en lo nuevo, repara con cuydado, la admiracion; peligra el credito en el assenso de los mas acordados. Y aunque es verdad, que la eficacia de la curiosidad natural, nos inclina a saber nouedades; la incertidumbre de su puntualidad, priua al entendimiento, del mayor deleyte, de que sin duda gozara, si persuadido de lo cierto, depusiera toda perplexidad en lo dudoso. Descádo pues sacar a vista de todos, el nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas (a que por orden de su Magestad fui, como despues verá) y temiendome, de que aunque por lo nuevo, seria apetecido; con todo no dexaria de padecer rezelos, en lo puntual: quise assegurarle lo vno, y lo otro: Lo primero, con promette vn nuevo mundo. Naciones nuevas, Reynos nuevos, ocupaciones nueuas; modo de viuir nuevo, y para dezirlo, en vna palabra, vn Rio de agua dulce, nauegado por mas de mil y trecientas leguas, todo desde su nacimiento hasta su fin, lleno de nouedades. Lo segundo; componerte delante de los ojos las obligaciones de mi persona, de Religioso de la Compañia de Iesus, de Sacerdote, de Legado de su Magestad, y otras, que ni a ti te importa el saberlas, ni a mi el dezirlas: y si con todo esto te persuadieses, a que la aficion de lo que con algun cuydado trabajé, me adelanta; oye a los que de a fuera, con testimonios jurados, acreditan esta Relacion. Vale.

CER.

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*, *Sabin Americana*.

Figure 4.3_Certification of Teixeira of Acuña's report.

 CERTIFICACION DEL CAPITAN
Mayor deste descubrimiento.
Pedro Texeira..

Pedro Texeira, Capitan Mayor al presente en esta Capitania del gran Parà, y Canuo que fuy de la gente de guerra, que fue en el descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, de ida, y buelta, hasta la ciudad de san Francisco del Quito, en los Reynos del Perú. Certifico, afirmo con juramento, por los Santos Evangelios, que es verdad, que por orden de su Magestad, y por particular prouision, despachada por la Real Audiencia de Quito, vino en mi compañía desde la dicha Ciudad, hasta la del Parà, el Reuerendo Padre Christoual de Acuña, Religioso de la Compañia de Iesus, con su compañero el Reuerêdo Padre Andres de Artieda, en el qual viaje, cumplierõ entrambos, assi en lo tocante al seruicio de su Magestad, a que eran inuiados, como buenos, y fieles vasallos suyos, notando, y aduirtiendõ todo lo necesario, para dar entera, y cumplida noticia del dicho descubrimiento, a que se deue dar entero credito, mejor que a otro ninguno.

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*, Sabin Americana.

Figure 4.4_ Certification of the Padre das Mercedes

CERTIFICACION DEL
Reuerendo Padre Comissario de
las Mercedes.

Fray Pedro de la Rúa, Religioso de nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, Comissario General de mi Orden en los Estados de Marañon, y Pará: certifico a todos los que la presente vieren, como los Reuerendos Padres Christoual de Acuña, y Andres de Artieda su compañero, Religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus, vinieron desde la Prouincia de Quito, en compañía de la armada Portuguesa, que de buelta del descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, baxò por el hasta la Ciudad del Pará, Costa del Brasil, y Gobierno del Marañon; acudiendo en todo el tiempo que durò el viage, como verdaderos hijos de su Religion confesando, predicando, y consolando a todos los del exercito, y acudiéndoles en sus enfermedades, y necesidades, como verdaderos Padres de todos: Cumpliendo juntamente con lo que por parte de la Real Audiencia de Quito, en nombre de su Magestad, se les auia encomendado, en lo tocante a hazer aueriguacion de las cosas mas principales del dicho rio de las Amazonas, que hizo el dicho Reuerendo Padre Christoual de Acuña, con el cuydado que se verá por su relacion, a que juzgo se deue dar entero credito, por ser persona desinteresada, y que solo mouido del seruicio de Dios, y del Rey emprendio jornada

¶

tan

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*, *Sabin Americana*.

Acuña presents a rational, coherent and compelling discourse accounting for the facts and arguments used. As a Jesuit professor, Acuña was a product of the Society of Jesus educational system (founded in 1543), which held not only the reputation of excellence and of disciplined study, but also keen to reshape the way knowledge was academically presented.¹⁰ Acuña's report compiles and uses Teixeira and Rojas' reports with additional sources. In addition, it follows the principles of a natural philosophy treatise, thematically organized.¹¹ As Luce Giard argues, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the architecture of knowledge depended on a propagandistic army of preachers and educators, and among their duties was the rational and academically valid discourse, which was "the object of a concerted effort whose importance was widely recognized."¹² In this sense, the mechanisms Acuña utilized to present and to manipulate his argument are central to understand the coherence (order) of his discourse. In fact, as Foucault's theory expounds, such mechanisms carried aspects of the geopolitics of institutions.¹³ The subjective opinions of Acuña are cloistered in a façade designed to persuade the reader of the objectivity of his technical analysis, which was

¹⁰ Peter Dear, "The Church and the new philosophy" in *Science, culture and popular belief in Renaissance Europe*, eds. Stephen Punfrey, Paolo L. Rossi and Maurice Slawinski. (1991 reprint.; Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 133.

¹¹ "The new scholars combined the passion for collection the least fragment of wisdom and the encyclopaedic (sic) compulsion to re-assemble the totality of knowledge." Luce Giard. "Remapping knowledge, reshaping institutions" in *Science, culture and popular belief in Renaissance Europe*, 27.

¹² Luce Giard. "Remapping knowledge, reshaping institutions," *Ibid*, 25.

¹³ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*., and Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon, *Michel Foucault, Power, Knowledge*.

divided in 83 sections. This analysis underlines the Jesuit and Spanish precedence in the Amazon conquest and claims to resources of the area.

The first chapters are reviews of the previous discoveries, or of the attempts at discovery, before Acuña describes the river and its inhabitants. The summaries about the previous discoveries helped Acuña to guide the reader through his main argument; that the discovery of the Amazon was an old and well-articulated plan of Spain. Indeed, the lack of some details on those expeditions is essential to Acuña's argument. Acuña points out that the discovery of the Amazon River in 1540 (sic) by the expedition of Francisco de Orellana led to the first designation of the river as Orellana River and the first account about the Amazon Warrior Women [Carvajal's report, 1542]. Acuña highlights that Charles V provided three ships and other supplies to Orellana to return to America, and to conquer the area from the mouth to the source, but the expedition did not succeed. Lost in that hydrographical labyrinth and fighting hostile Natives, Orellana and his peers ended up making their way to Caracas; during this journey he and many of his men died. Only some of the people in the expedition arrived in Margarita, today an island off the Venezuelan coast.

Different from Acuña's characterization, the expedition of Francisco de Orellana was in fact, part of the expedition of Gonzalo de Pizarro, a young brother of Francisco de Pizarro, who conquered Peru. In December of 1540, under the orders of Francisco de Pizarro, Gonzalo departed from Lima to assume the government in Quito and to prepare

an expedition to the El Dorado and the Land of Cinnamon.¹⁴ Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition departed from Quito in February of 1541, and Orellana, who was the lieutenant governor of the province of Culata under Quito's authority, volunteered to take part in this journey.¹⁵ This expedition did not expect a maritime journey. It departed with 220 Spaniards, 4,000 captive Natives, 2,000 hogs, many dogs, and horses. The expedition suffered many losses before they reached the so-called Land of Cinnamon, which they found did not have real cinnamon, but instead similar trees with tasteless barks. Scarcity of food and extreme violence towards the Natives characterized the expedition. When asked by Pizarro, some of the Natives had no knowledge of fertile lands ahead, and believing they were hiding information, Pizarro ordered them to be burned alive. Further on, Pizarro again questioned other Natives who, probably fearing the fate of their neighbors, made up information; they said the expedition would find fertile lands ahead. The expedition continued without seeing such fertile lands, and Orellana offered to go as advance guard to gather food.

The contact between the two groups was difficult and the food scarce; Pizarro decided to return to Quito. Apparently without realizing the rest of the expedition had turned back to Quito, or because he wanted to take the conquest into his hands, Orellana continued. On January 1542, from a village between the rivers Napo and Aguarico, he advanced down the Amazon River where, as reported by the Dominican friar Gaspar de

¹⁴ See Rafael Varón Gabai, *Francisco Pizarro and his brothers: the illusion of power in sixteenth-century Peru*, translated by Javier Flores Espinoza. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Orellana founded the city of Santiago de Guayaquil.

Carvajal, Orellana took possession of the area in the name of his commandant, Gonzalo de Pizarro, and the Spanish Crown. Meanwhile, in June, Gonzalo Pizarro arrived in Quito. Orellana reached a river, which he called Negro. On August 1542, Orellana's group reached the Amazon River mouth.

Acuña does not mention it, but Orellana's expedition occurred in the context of a struggle between the Spanish Crown and the colonists led by Gonzalo Pizarro.

Combating the administrative disorder, Native enslavement and the endless quarrels among the conquistadores, Spain sent its first viceroy to Peru. In 1544, concerned that the end of enforced work would ruin the colonists, Gonzalo Pizarro initiated an uprising against the Crown.¹⁶ In the same year, Orellana arrived in Spain with news of the discovery of the Amazon River and with a request to return to conquest the area.

Although Orellana found some opposition because the mouth was in territory that for some cartographers was assigned by the Pope to the Portuguese, he was finally authorized to return.¹⁷

¹⁶ When Gonzalo Pizarro arrived in Quito in 1542, he retired to his Potosí mine after learning that one of his brothers had been arrested in Spain and that the others, including the famous Francisco de Pizarro, were dead. However, less than two years later he became head of the colonists' uprising in Peru.

¹⁷ Some authors suggest that the mouth of the Amazon River was Portuguese though others defend it was not. "At first, not much enthusiasm was aroused by Orellana's account of his Amazonian adventure, mostly because the mouth of the river lay in territory which had been assigned by the Pope to Portugal." Helen Constance Palmary, *The River of the Amazons*, 57. Whether the mouth was Portuguese or not, was a hot geopolitical and scientific issue. In this sense, cartographers presented different opinions on the position of the Tordesilla's demarcation line. Cartographers like Oviedo (1545), Ferber (1495), and the Badajoz scholars (1524) showed the line to include the area of São Luís do Maranhão into the Portuguese domain. Others like Ribeiro (1519) and Costa Miranda (1688) showed the line to include the area of Belém do Pará into the Portuguese domain. However, some cartographers like Pedro Nunes (1537), Albernaz (1631), and João Teixeira (1642) represented the line to include the Cabo do Norte (Amapá). Cantino (1502) showed the line to exclude not only the mouth of the Amazon, but also the area of São Luís do Maranhão all

Orellana's expedition did not have as much support as Acuña claimed. Charles V authorized the returning expedition, but he did not provide further resources except for eight friars and eight black slaves. Also the King granted that Orellana with his own private capital could colonize 200 leagues [520 miles] south from the river and establish two cities in the area. On May 1545, poorly organized, lacking financial support, and with many legal irregularities, the Orellana expedition sailed. It had only three ships and it carried many foreigners, including Germans, Flemish, and even Portuguese and English men-- the last two nationalities forbidden to sail on Spanish ships in expeditions to the Indies. In addition, the expedition departed without a royal observer, with many women, and after raiding the countryside and stealing cows, calves, sheep, chickens, and other supplies and equipment. The expedition's losses started in the Atlantic journey, followed by fights against the Natives, and ended up unable to find the main course of the Amazon River and trying to return to the Caribbean Sea; Orellana died and was buried on the banks of the Amazon.

The second important Spanish expedition Acuña commented on occurred in 1560, when the viceroy sent the expedition of Pedro de Orsúa. By 1548, D. Pedro de Orsúa

together. For further theoretical discussion see Henry Harrisse, *The diplomatic history of America, its first chapter 1452, 1493, 1494*. (London, England: B.F. Stevens, 1897), Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *El tratado de Tordesillas* (Madrid, Spain: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), Iris Kantor, "Usos diplomático da ilha-brasil: polêmicas cartográficas e historiográficas," *Varia História* [on-line]. Vol. 37, (Jan-Jun, 2007): 70-80. <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-87752007000100005> (accessed August 09, 2012), Jaime Cortesão, *História do Brasil nos Velhos Mapas*, Vol II (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 1957), Norman J. W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), J. H. Andrews, "Introduction: Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J. B. Harley" in J. B. Harvey, *The New Nature of Maps*. (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001), and Manuel Correia de Andrade, (org.) *Tordesilhas: um marco geopolítico* (Recife, Brazil: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 1997).

(1526–1561) had left his appointment in Bogotá and had organized some expeditions. However, his big opportunity arrived when waiting for a ship in Panamá, where he met the new viceroy who, from Lima in 1559, appointed him to lead the expedition to the El Dorado and the Wealth of the Omaguas. This expedition was, nevertheless, fatefu. Orsúa was killed, and the expedition was taken over by the “tyrant” Lopes de Aguirre. This expedition never reached the Amazon River mouth; instead it finished in Trinidad, where the Spanish authorities killed Aguirre. Acuña also identified other actions in which local authorities in America tried to execute the Spanish plan of conquest of the Amazon. In 1621, Philip IV dispatched a Royal Chart requesting Vicente de los Reyes Villalobos, governor and captain of the province of Quijos, jurisdiction of the Audience of Quito, to prepare the necessary conditions for the exploration of the river.¹⁸ Alonso de Miranda succeed Villalobos and attempted the conquest, but he died before accomplishing any results. The same occurred with General Josef de Villamayor Maldonado, who even before Villalobos, as Acuña claims, spent his life subjugating the Natives on the Amazon River in the name of God and the king. Finally, Acuña presented the Crown’s orders to the Portuguese: in 1626 to Benito Maciel Pariente [Bento Maciel Parente], and in 1633 to Francisco Coello de Carvalho [Francisco Coelho de Carvalho]¹⁹

¹⁸ “Quijos: territorio poblado por los indios del mismo nombre, entre la cordillera oriental ecuatoriana y los ríos Napo y Coca” “Editors Notes” in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque y Gonzalo Santonja, 65.

¹⁹ Acuña presents the Teixeira expedition after placing it among previous attempts to conquest the Amazon River under the command of the Spanish Crown.

Figure 4.5 Page of Acuña's report showing the section in which he presents the Spanish commandments to the Portuguese to proceed with the discovery of the Amazon River.

Nuevo descubrimiento

NUMERO V.

Intenta Benito Maciel este descubrimiento.

Solicitaron estos mismos desícos, no solo los ánimos de los Castellanos, por las partes de el Perú, sino que estendiéndose a las costas del Brasil, habitacion de Portugueses, quisieron con el zelo que siempre tienen de aumentar su Corona, comenzando desde la boca deste Rio, buscarle su origen, y le sentararle sus grandezas; a que se ofreció Benito Maciel Pariente, Capitan Mayor, que entonces auia sido de el Pará, y al presente Governador del Marañon. En cuya conformidad, se le despachò el año de veinte y seis, vna Real Cedula, para que lleuasse hasta el fin sus intèros; los quales cessaron por querer su Magestad servirse de su persona en la guerra de Pernambuco.

NUMERO VI.

Mandaselo a Francisco Coello que haga esta entrada.

NO parece que se quietana el corazón de nuestro grã Rey hasta ver executada cosa que tanto se deseaua, y ella de sí prometia. Y aunque se desbaratauan todós los caminos y trazas, que a este fin ordenaua la humana prudencia: no por eso dexaua de insistir en el intento principal: a cuya causa, despachò por los años de treinta y tres, o treinta y quatro, vna su Real Cedula, a Francisco Coello de Carauallo, que a la sazón estaua por Governador de el Marañon, y Pará, con expreso mandato, de que luego se hiziesse el dicho descubrimiento, y que no auiendo a quien imbiar, fuesse el en persona a ponerlo en execucion: tanto como esto deseaua su Magestad que se efetuasse, cosa, que por todas partes se intentaua, y por ninguna llegaua a deuida execuciõ; pero tã poco la tuuo en esta oca-
sion

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*, Sabin Americana.

The Jesuit Discovery: On the Realm of Geo-ethnography

After placing the Teixeira expedition in line with Spanish plans for the Amazon, Acuña leads the reader to recognize the primacy of the Society of Jesus in Quito. The Dominican Gaspar de Carvajal described the first known European full navigation on the Amazon River and the fight between the Orellana expedition (1542) and the so-called Amazon Warrior Women, for whom the whole basin would later be named. In 1637, the Franciscan friars Brieva and Toledo descended the full course of the river for the second time. In a non-incidental navigation [planned], Teixeira's expedition was the first European group able to fully ascend and descend the Amazon River. However, in Acuña's report, the Society of Jesus received primacy in the discovery of the Amazon. Acuña pointed out that from Quito, which he qualified as hub of the most fertile and wealthy province in Peru, the Franciscans friars departed to continue the discovery initiated by the Jesuits.²⁰ It may appear contradictory, but in fact Acuña's rhetoric manages to sound objective and rational, as he defends the new discovery of the river as if it had began 30 years (sic) before with the Jesuit mission in the Cofanes people 70 leagues [182 miles] from Quito.²¹

²⁰ Acuña seems to be the one that initiated the dispute between Franciscan and Jesuit orders over the primacy of the Amazon conquest. In 1654, the Franciscans responded to Acuña's report with an account in which they present their version of the Amazon missions and the primacy of the Franciscan order regarding the Amazon conquest. See Márcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Viaje del capitán Pedro Teixeira.*, and C. Melo-Leitão, *Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas.*

²¹ In the *Memorial*, Acuña refers to this mission as being there for more than 40 years. See ahead in this chapter.

Considering the power of the religious institutions in the seventeenth century, it was perfectly acceptable to join spiritual and material issues as causation for the expedition. As Acuña argued, the Portuguese expedition was the result of God's will by first sending the Jesuit missionaries to establish missions, second by sending the Franciscans to complete the navigation in the process of Jesuit missionary work, and third by persuading, or inspiring, the governor of Maranhão to launch the expedition. Jacóme Raimundo de Noronha came to power elected by the people, but as Acuña explains, it was God's hand that placed the governor in power and persuaded him to send the expedition notwithstanding many local contrary opinions. Acuña states that the governor aimed to serve the king's desire to discover the Amazon River. Therefore, Noronha sent the expedition to dispel doubts and to confirm the discovery the Crown so strongly wished for, and the friars from Quito, guided by the Society of Jesus in Quito, had led to the accomplishment. In sum, Acuña presents Teixeira's expedition and the conquest of the Amazon Basin as achievements of the Spanish Crown and the Society of Jesus in Quito.

After giving the reasons behind the expedition, Acuña focused on the geographic, and especially on the ethnographic, data gathered along the journey. Acuña reproduces the geographical observations of Teixeira and Rojas, but he also complements their observations adding more information about the Natives, and about the provinces, animals and plants of the Amazon Basin.²² Acuña's analysis is mostly concerned with the

²² As Rojas and Teixeira did, he highlights the numerous islands, especially in the mouth of the Amazon, and the great density of Natives along the River

Natives' way of life. Apparently, the narrative describes the Natives in a positive manner. His inquiry is, however, a deliberate effort to learn from the Natives the various natural resources of their areas, their means of subsistence and modes of living, their agricultural practices and industries, and their religious beliefs to strongly recommend the early Spanish colonization of the Amazon Basin. This knowledge could open the possibility for the establishment of missions, settlements and commercial trade, and it was the keystone to the territorial conquest of the area. On one hand, it is understandable that Teixeira did not reveal so much of these details since most likely the spread of this knowledge would be detrimental to the Portuguese military interests. On the other hand, to Spain, which did not have a local force established in the best area of access to the Amazon River, it was a geopolitical necessity to have a detailed account of the geo-ethnography of the Amazon.

Acuña had access to the accounts of Carvajal, Teixeira and Rojas, among other sources of information, and it is clear he added them to what he heard from the Natives, and the racially mixed Portuguese-Native informers, who were the interpreters used to communicate with the Natives in the Amazon. It is unclear whether Acuña remained in the Portuguese colony until March of 1640 to further analyze the mouth of the river and make inquiries among the local Natives, or if other reasons prevented his traveling to Europe. Based on his comments, the voyage from Maranhão to Spain took only 24 days, which opens the possibility that he stayed to perform further inquiries and observations. This seems plausible because the Natives from the coast were a major source of

information as were those who had accompanied the expedition, and from whom Acuña acquired most of the ethnographical data given in his report.²³

Acuña was impressed with specific geographical sites and with the Natives along the Amazon Basin. Acuña observed that the area around the mouth of the Negro River had an abundance of stone and good timber for building. There were vast grasslands sufficient to pasture large herds of cattle.²⁴ Reproducing Teixeira's statements, Acuña recommended that a settlement be established there and that a fort be built, both for protection against the Natives and to prevent other European nations from locating in the area. Unlike Teixeira's report that mostly follows the sequence of the expedition, favoring geographical description of the observed sites, Acuña's report is thematically organized. Acuña provides a better understanding of the ethnographical features of the region.

In addition, while Teixeira's tone gives a predominant negative impression of the Natives, Acuña presents evidence of a positive aspect. The expedition visited the great island of Tupinambás, and Acuña had a good impression of them. In contrast to Teixeira, who had described them as ferocious people, Acuña describes them as a nation that had deserted the coast of Brazil because of the cruelty of the Portuguese. Also, Acuña assumed the Tupinambás' narratives to be true, and reported details. For instance, he

²³ See Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Viaje del capitán Pedro Teixeira.*, C. Melo-Leitão, *Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas.*, and Rafael Díaz Maderuelo, *La Aventura del Amazonas*, 24.

²⁴ Teixeira had called it "farms."

includes the way of life of the Amazon Warrior Women, stories on a supposed Native nation of dwarfs as small as little children, and other stories of a certain Native nation whose feet were turned backwards so that their enemies who thought they were following their footprints would be walking away from them.²⁵ It is unclear whether this was factual information or legends, but Acuña seems to assume those stories to be true though he had not seen evidence.

Also, with the Omaguas, his description was not as negative as Teixeira's was. Instead of being described as the most violent and ferocious, Acuña argues they welcomed the expedition and Acuña records a good impression of these people. Two Natives who accompanied the Teixeira expedition since the beginning in Pará and experienced captivity with the Omaguas for eight months served as informants to Acuña. He describes, for example, the process by which these Natives supposedly flattened their heads, and their close and warm relationship with their slaves. Acuña's informants assured him the Omaguas were not cannibalistic, but they sometimes killed important captives at their festivities for security reasons. Then, they cut off their heads and threw the bodies into the river. The heads were preserved as trophies and displayed in their houses. Of the Tapajós people, Acuña comments on their poisoned arrows and on their fights with the Orellana expedition. However, he describes their interaction with Teixeira's expedition as amicable. These Natives exchanged their fish, fruit and fowl for

²⁵ It was also a common narrative among the Natives in the northeast coast of Brazil. Today, it is considered part of the folklore like Saçi pererê and Curupira legends from the North and Northeast regions of Brazil, for instance.

knives and other European goods. Besides, it seems that when the expedition arrived in Pará, the new governor of Maranhão, Bento Maciel Parent, had left to raid these native communities and had held many of them as slaves.

On the Negro River mouth a situation developed; a suggestion was made to Teixeira that the members of the expedition reward themselves by attacking the Natives and obtaining their slaves to sell when they reached Pará. The Amazon Basin was thickly populated and it was reported that the Natives on the Negro River held many slaves. The expedition members had been on duty for two years without remuneration of any kind, so they did not want to return home empty-handed. Teixeira was concerned first with his responsibilities to his superiors, but his petitioners were many, so Teixeira gave the consent for the raid to begin. However, Acuña cautioned that should the expedition get into war with the Natives it might result in a disaster or be delayed. Therefore, the priests who accompanied the expedition presented a formal injunction to the raid, stating that the voyage down the river was under royal order from the Viceroy of Peru and its mission was to obtain certain information and to take it to Spain at the earliest possible date. They further demanded that they be furnished with the necessary supplies and means of transportation to get to Maranhão. In addition, they would report the disobedience to the authorities in Maranhão and in Spain. Given the priests' opposition, plans for the raid were dropped.

In terms of his religious opinion about the Natives' beliefs, Acuña was also more positive than Rojas in his comments.²⁶ He claimed that the Native nations along the river did not seem to differ greatly in their religious beliefs. Most of the Natives had special gods for specific activities such as for war, fishing and harvesting. These were often carelessly treated when not in use, but when a native went fishing he placed the proper god on the bow of this canoe and depended upon it to bring him good luck. In addition, he observed that the Natives had great faith in their "sorcerers" who were their teachers, preachers, and guides. However, he attributed the Natives' beliefs to fear instead of pure ignorance or stupidity. Acuña defended that these sorcerers were venerated more out of fear than love, and he noted that the bones of all the dead sorcerers were kept suspended from the hammocks in which they had slept when alive. Acuña seems to spotlight how these people were reliable to be manipulated, although they were intelligent, and therefore, useful for work purposes.²⁷

Acuña describes in detail the Natives' tools and weapons. As he comments, their tools were hatchets and adzes, usually made from the shell of the breast of the turtle, material the Natives cured using smoke, which was then sharpened on stone. With such

²⁶“De los esclavos que estas aguas cautivan en sus batallas se sirven para todo lo que han menester, cobrandoles tanto amor que comen con ellos en un plato, y tratarles de que los vendan es cosa que lo sienten mucho” Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque, and Gonzalo Santonja, 126.

²⁷ After discuss the influence of the hechiceros on the Natives (Ibid, 112), and how they controlled the Natives by fear, Acuña talks about the Native ability to manufacture of objects. “tienen buenos entendimientos y raras habilidades para cualquiera cosa de manos. Son mansos y de apacibles naturales... Todo lo cual, junto con la poca afición y muestra que dan de ella de todo lo tocante al culto de sus dioses prometen grandes esperanzas de que si se les diese noticias del verdadero criador de cielos y tierra, con poca dificultad abrazarían su santa ley.” Ibid, 113. See also Ibid, 131.

tools the Natives cut boards, manufactured canoes, seats, tables, and other useful articles. Their chisels and gouges were made from the teeth of animals and were fitted in wooden handles. Their weapons were short spears and darts made of strong wood, as well as bows and arrows; in some areas the arrows were poisoned. A weapon called *estoica* also was common; it was a long arrow with a harpoon-shaped point of bone or hard wood. Instead of being shot from a bow, this weapon was attached to the upper surface of a short flattened pole, then held by the undersurface and thrown. Acuña states that the natives threw the *estoica* with such force and accuracy that at fifty paces, they never missed their mark.²⁸

Acuña is highly concerned with plants as potential economic products. He refers to the commercial possibilities of sugar cane, of an ebony-like tree, and with the vast amounts of cacao and tobacco, gums, resins, and sarsaparilla. Acuña observed that vegetable foods like maize and potatoes were widely grown and abundant. He notes that in the area there were many types of fruit-bearing trees, and lists some of the plants the Natives used as medicines like the fruit of purging cassia, balsams and the oil of andiroba [carapa], which he states was invaluable for healing wounds. In addition, Acuña devotes a lot of attention to the Native methods to obtain certain products. Acuña gives details on how to obtain and prepare cassava, the so-called bread-making starch of the Native. He observes that the Natives collected the yucca roots from which the cassava is made and

²⁸ It is a measure of distance used in Ancient Roma and standardized as five Roman feet (about 1.48 meters or 58.1 English inches). “There are 1000 passus in one mille, and a mille was sometimes referred to as a mille passus.” < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pace_\(unit\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pace_(unit)) > (accessed June, 2012).

buried them in deep holes in the ground where they remained during the flood season. After the water receded the roots were collected, pulverized, then tightly pressed to extract their alcoholic juice; the remaining pulp was shaped into thin cakes which were baked and stored high in the houses to preserve them from dampness.²⁹ Also, Acuña noted the presence of deer, tapirs, wild hogs, ducks and fowls, which the Natives raised at home, as well as exotic animals like what we call today electric fish and the manatee (“peixe-boi”).

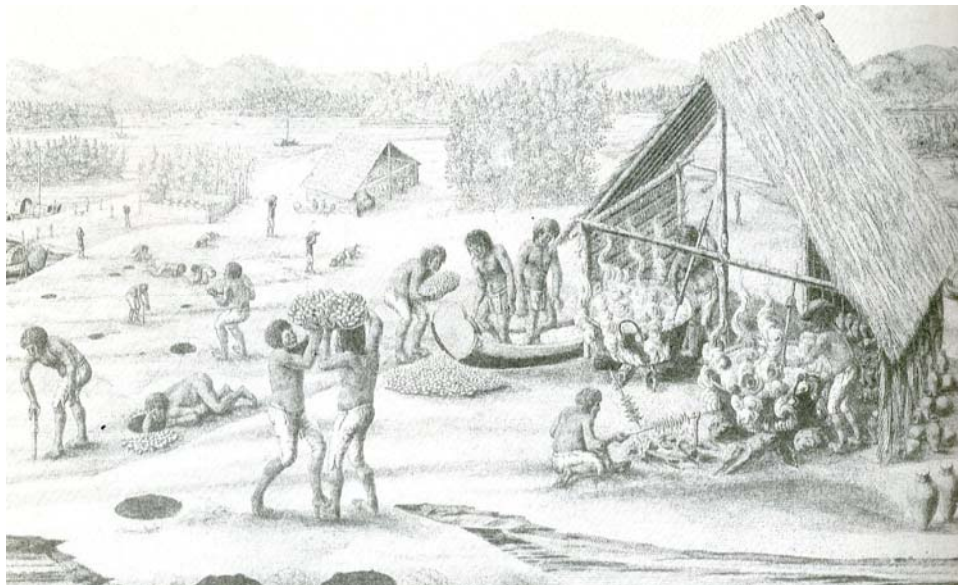
Acuña described the Native methods of hunting and fishing. Acuña described the manatee as being as big as a calf a year and half old, but without horns or ears. The manatees could not hold their breath long underwater, so when they came up for air the Natives killed them with a harpoon made of shell. The Natives cut the manatee flesh in slices, grilled, and preserved it in fine ashes, which they used in place of salt. Another important source of food was the turtle. In order to insure a year-round supply of meat the Natives built “large enclosures surrounded by poles” with enough depth to form small lakes. During the season when the turtles came up to the “beaches” to lay their eggs, the Natives captured them simply by turning them on their backs, thus making it impossible for them to move. (See illustrations in figure 4.6). Next, they would bore a hole in the shell of each turtle, string them all together, get in their canoes and tow their captives to the enclosures. Acuña describes two methods of fishing on the river, depending on the season. During the raining season fishing was done with bows and arrows. To the arrows

²⁹ In Native languages houses were often called Taba, Oca, and Maloca. <<http://ensinar-aprender.blogspot.com/2011/06/tipos-de-casas-de-indio.html>> (accessed August 07, 2012).

was attached a thin oval board; when the fish were wounded the board acted as a buoy.

During the dry season, fishing was done with a type of poison. The Natives threw the poison in the water, making the fish come to the surface to be caught by hand.

Figure 4.6_ Illustration of Natives collecting turtle eggs to produce butter. Drawing from Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica pelas Capitanias do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá. Memórias. Zoologia. Botânica.* [Rio de Janeiro, 1972 (sic)], copyright from the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Iconografia cota E.A.251.



Source: Lucinda Saragoça, Da “Feliz Lusitânia,” figs. 13-14.

Throughout the report Acuña provides information on events that occurred during the expedition and describes Native resources and capabilities. The Jesuit is interested in the extraction of minerals, woods, and in exotic plants and animals. Acuña is concerned with the way of life of the Natives because it could reveal potential products, but also because it was important to analyze the human resource (workers) to produce those commercial products. In other words, he described the Native system of production, the structure of their economical system, which Teixeira called the “Gentile Machine” (Gentile Structure). Acuña was engaged in analyzing the Native culture, their language, beliefs, preferences, and customs not for the sake of knowledge *per se*, but to understand and to use such knowledge for the territorial, economical, and spiritual conquest of the Amazonian Natives. In this sense, Acuña provided many details on the structure of life and economy of the Natives in the Amazon Basin, and named hundreds of Native nations and provinces [about 150] as well as animals and plants. Indeed, in Acuña’s report, the main function of his geo-ethnographical reporting was geopolitical.

Geopolitics of Ethnography: The *Memorial*

The geographical and ethnographical data provided in the report may appear to be for the sake of knowledge production but it had a geopolitical purpose as the *Memorial* that preceded Acuña’s report shows. This *Memorial* presented before the publication of the actual report in 1641 might have undergone updates until December of 1640, when

the Portuguese Acclamation War erupted.³⁰ In this *Memorial*, Acuña summarizes to the King the advantages and the critical issues related to the Amazon conquest: the dispute of power between the source and the mouth of the Amazon River. His report presented no comments on the fact that this expedition was actually a problem to Spain. In the *Memorial*, he exposes many potential problems in case the Crown did not go ahead with the conquest. Together with the report, the *Memorial* exemplifies how Natives and landscapes were institutionally incorporated into the European territorial representation. The Dutch invasions, the Portuguese-Spanish antagonism, and the interests of the religious orders and the local authorities and settlers all played together to re-shape the region, or re-territorialize the area as if it were European.

Acuña painted a dreadful scenario if the proposed conquest was not undertaken. If the Portuguese had control of the river mouth they would have the help of some allied bellicose nations and could reach the village of Peru or the New Kingdom of Granada with little resistance, particularly in the least populous villages. In the end, those disloyal to the king could cause great harm to the royal interests, especially if the Portuguese joined the Dutch, as many had done in Brazil. Acuña noted that the Dutch had been trying hard for decades to get control of the river and they had made their intentions

³⁰ The Portuguese war of independence against Spain was known in the seventeenth and sixteenth-centuries as Acclamation War because John, 8th Duke of Braganza was acclaimed as King John IV of Portugal. This conflict (1641-1668) reestablished the Portuguese monarchy under the Bragança dynasty. From 1641 to 1668, Spain sought to isolate Portugal militarily and diplomatically, and Portugal tried to find the resources to maintain its independence through savvy political alliances and maintenance of its colonial income.

known in *Utriusque Americae*, a book that came to light in 1633 written by Joao Laeth.³¹ Acuña pointed out how important the Amazon River was to the transportation of the local wealth to Spain. Using the Amazon and the Atlantic route to reach Spain would represent considerable less expenditure than the presently used Panamá-Cartagena route. As Acuña explained, the Crown vessels would be less subject to pirate attacks at least until they reached Pará; from there it would take 24 days at sea to reach Spain, and with less chances of enemy ambushes because the Pará coast was such that the ships could not tolerate the current for two days without the ships being destroyed. Acuña closed his letter offering the King his unconditional help to bring about the Amazon enterprise successfully.

In this *Memorial*, Acuña unveiled the geopolitical issues in a more direct fashion. He introduced his own political interests and his “real opinions” about the Portuguese, the Natives, and in particular his ideas on how the cultural landscape of the Amazon Basin should be structured. He stated, that the *encomienda* system would guarantee the spiritual conversion and education of the Native people.³² He defended that the Society of

³¹ “Y se ve el cuidado que pudiera dar. Y que el holandés desee muchos años ha, y aun que procure con versa señorearse de este gran río, es cosa tan cierta que no dudó afirmarlo y publicarlo Juan Laeth, autor holandés en el libro que intituló *Utriusque Americae*, ” *Memorial* in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque y Gonzalo Santonja, 168.

³² For references see Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America: An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1898)., Timothy Yeager, “Encomienda or Slavery ? The Spanish Crown's Choice of Labor Organization in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish America” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 55, Issue 4 (Dec., 1995): 842-859., and Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (1950; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). The receiver of the grant was to protect the natives and to instruct them in the Spanish language and in the Catholic faith. In return, the receiver could extract tributes from the natives in the form of labor, gold or other products. In practice, the difference from slavery was not that big, as they were forced to extreme

Jesus had considerable rights over this discovery; for more than forty years (sic) the Society of Jesus had maintained possession over the river acquired with the blood of Father Rafael Ferrer, who was killed by the Natives on the headwaters of the Amazon. Even though building an empire along the Amazon River would offer enormous wealth to the Crown, the expenses would outweigh the benefits if the conquest started from the mouth of the river. Therefore, the conquest should be made immediately and from Quito. In other words, starting the conquest by expelling the Portuguese from the river mouth, and then proceeding along the Amazon River, as it seems the Council had suggested in January 1640, was not a good plan.

He suggested that to establish the mouth as Spanish territory was necessary, but it should be a later step on the conquest. The first step should be to start the conquest from Quito, since Acuña poses that re-building the territory under Portuguese control, the main door to the Amazon River, would be too expensive and difficult. He remarked that the expenses required might outweigh the benefits if the new empire had to be built starting from the river mouth, although the Amazon River could offer enormous wealth to the Crown. Highlighting political and economical issues, Acuña proposes that Quito had the right people willing to invest in the enterprise, and the Jesuits to guide their steps on the conquest. The only effort and expense Spain would have to make would be sending some more Jesuit missionaries from Europe to guarantee the enterprise went on smoothly. As I

conditions of labor and punishment. Though formally, as Simpson (1982, xiii) points, it was a “the delegation of the royal power to collect the tribute from, and to use the personal service of the King’s vassals (the Indians).”

argue in this thesis, Quito was, however, in a more inconvenient geographical location to lead the conquest than Pará. Quito was a very strong regional power in the Viceroyalty of Peru and had access to the Napo River from which the Amazon River could be reached, but the city *per se* was miles and miles from the main course of the Amazon River and separated from the river's most potential ports by a difficult relief, as seen in the figures 3.1 to 3.9. Meanwhile Pará was next to the mouth and in position to reach Europe faster.³³

³³ Acuña concedes that the navigation from the Portuguese colonies in the mouth of the river to Europe would take approximately 24 days. Furthermore, he comments that “Finalmente, si andando el tiempo, sujeto y allanado ya el paso de este gran río y aclaradas las entradas que a él hay oir todo el Perú, la quisiese reducir a este viaje cuanto de aquellas partes enriquece a España me gloriara yo de haber hecho a vuestra majestad uno de los mayors y más provechosos servicios que de vasallo se pudiera esperar, con que no solo se ahorran gran suma de ducados, en inmensos gastos que serán inescusables mientras durare el trájín de Panamá y Cartagena, que por este río que por ser agua y ayudar sus Corrientes serían muy moderados, *sino que también (que es lo de más consideración) aseguraba vuestra majestad de una vez sus flotas y sin recelos de cosarios ponía en salvo todos sus tesoros, por lo menos hasta llegar al Pará, de donde en veinte y cuatro días por mar ancho con galeones, hechos en el mismo río a todos tiempos se ponían en España*, sin enemigo alguno les pueda guardar a la salida por ser la costa del Pará tal que ni dos días pueden los navíos fuera del río resistir a las corrientes de la mar, con que cesaran de una vez los continuos cuidados que cada día nos causa tan peligroso y dilatado viaje como es el de Cartagena,” [italics added] Ibid, 169.

Figure 4.7_Acuña's *Memorial* first page

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MEMORIAL, PRESENTADO EN EL Real Consejo de las Indias, sobre el dicho descubrimiento, despues del reuelion de Portugal.

S. E. Ñ. O. R..

CHRISTOVAL De Acuña, Religioso de la Compañia de Iesus, que vino por orden de vuestra Magestad, al descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas: Cuydadoso siempre de los mayores aumentos de su Real Corona, y rezeloso de que acontecimientos menos favorables, vistos a nuestras puertas, ahoguen, y impidan el luzimiento de sus afectuosos servicios. Dize, que aunque es verdad, que la principal puerta de aquel nuevo mundo descubierta, para mas en breve comenzar a gozar de los provechosos, y ricos frutos, que liberal ofrece; es la boca principal del, por la parte que defigua en el Oceano, de las Costas de el Brasil, sujeta a Portugueses, y por esso menos fazonada, para que de presente se procure esta entrada. Pero que no por esso deue Vuestra Magestad desistir, ni dilatar la posesion de este gran Rio, pues con mas facilidad, y muchos menos gastos lo podrá hazer por la Provincia de Quito, en los Reynos del Perú, por las mesmas entradas por donde el, y sus compañeros baxaron. De que resultarán sin duda grandes

fer-

Source: Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de la Amazonas*, Sabin Americana.

Acuña contends that the priests of the Society of Jesus had acquired the right to this new conquest because, from the Mountains of Santiago, the Jesuits had cared for the people living on the tributaries of the river for several years.³⁴ However, to continue to do so and to consolidate the conquest, the province of Quito needed more missionaries to work with the large number of Natives. Acuña strengthened his arguments by appealing to the desires of the King's ancestors starting with King Charles V, Emperor and Philip IV's great-grand-father. He recalled that in 1549, the Emperor Charles V sent Francisco de Orellana, who had sailed the river nine years before, with three ships, enough people, and paraphernalia to take possession of the great river of the Amazons for the crown. Much advantage was expected, but difficult storms and the death of many soldiers reduced the expedition to only a small boat. This destroyed the Spanish hopes of success. He noted Philip's wish and orders to execute the discovery as shown by royal dispatches in 1621, 1626 and 1634. Unlike the previous attempts, the present discovery had been successful, fulfilling the Spanish King's desire. Acuña had no doubt that the King would respond with his usual piety and generosity to the needs of the Native nations. He also

³⁴ In 1653, Fray Laureano de la Cruz presented a different version of the Amazon conquest challenging Acuña's version of the facts and revealing the zealot disputes between Jesuits and Franciscan orders on the matters of this "new discovery" of the Amazon River. First published in 1879 by the Fray Marcellino Da Civezza and re-edited by Fray Francisco Compte (1885) *Nuevo descubrimiento del rio de Marañón* by Fray Laureano de la Cruz reports the human experience of the Franciscan friars in catechize the Natives, the antagonisms between them and the Jesuits, and some of the intrigues in Quito, also it present present some comments on the Teixeira's expedition. See Fray Laureano de la Cruz, *Nuevo descubrimiento del rio de Marañón llamado de las Amazonas*, (1651-1653 repr.; Madrid, Spain: La Irradiación, 1900), and Papavero et al. *O Novo Éden*.

noted that the conversion of these New World infidels might establish in perpetuity the Spanish Crown and expand it to even larger empires.³⁵

Acuña urged the king to act quickly in order not to lose the opportunities that such an enterprise might offer. He declared that the main part of the river at its mouth flows into the ocean along Brazil's coast, which was under the Portuguese control and "therefore less suitable for this *entrada*."³⁶ He stated that such conquest would be easy and less expensive if undertaken from Quito. He says that "Everything can be made without considerable expenditure by the Royal Treasury, simply by sending an order to the Chancellery of Quito to divide the most suitable entries of the rivers under the jurisdiction of the people who volunteer at their own expense to make these conquests, as by these means they can benefit from the Encomienda of Indians, the lands, and other benefits alike."³⁷ Acuña also noted that if the discovery and conquest was made from Quito, it would have closed the door through which people in Peru smuggle treasures and

³⁵ "A la conversion de un nuevo mundo de infieles que, miserables yacen en la sombra de la muerte, obra tan del servicio de Dios que no se puede ofrecer otra que más le agrade y tal que por ella se dará por obligado a establecer con perpetuidad su corona, de vuestra majestad y de nuevo dilatarla a mayores imperios." Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque y Gonzalo Santonja, 165

³⁶ "Es la boca principal de él por la parte que desagua en el océano de las costa del Brasil, sujeita a portugueses y por lo tanto menos sazónada para que de presente se procure esta entrada pero que no por lo tanto debe vuestra majestad desistir ni dilatar la posesión de este gran río, pues con más facilidad y muchos menos gastos lo podrá haber por la provincia de Quito, en los reinos del Perú." Ibid, 164-165.

³⁷ Lo cual se podrá efectuar sin gastos considerables de la real hacienda, con solo enviar orden a la chancillería de Quito para que capitule las entradas que más convenga, por los ríos que en su jurisdicción desaguan en este principal, con algunas de las muchas personas que a su costa se ofrecen a hacer estas conquistas solo por los intereses que de ella se sacan, como son las encomiendas de los indios, repartir tierras, proveer oficios y otros semejantes." Ibid.

avoided the Crown's tithes in Cartagena. It could also prevent the dangers experienced with corsairs, who were frequent in the area and willing to attempt entering the river, which they would not dare, if the main entrances of the river were secured.

The second step on the conquest should subordinate the Natives along the river, and later at the mouth. Acuña remarked that the Native nations that occupied the Amazon River were very bellicose. However, he suggests that these nations would help with the enterprise once they recognized the king as their lord, implying that the work of conversion and acculturation would change the Natives' attitudes. In fact, Acuña proposes that if the Crown were able to submit the most belligerent nations in the River islands and banks, the others would succumb easily.³⁸ Acuña noted that with a Quito-led conquest, the Crown would be able to expel from its mouth anyone who might harbor sinister intentions.³⁹ Further, considering the case [of the Portuguese rebellion], which he hoped would soon be restrained and the rebels punished, the conquest under Quito's control would also secure the river mouth. Acuña seems to imply that any conquest of the

³⁸ *“reduciendo vuestra majestad a su obediencia las principales naciones de este río y en especial las que habitan al que en sus islas y orillas que son muy belicosas y con valor aydararán al que una vez reconocieren por dueño, en que habrá poca o ninguna resistencia por las muchas guerras que de continuo tienen unas con otras y sujeta una lo estarán con facilidad las demás,* [italics added] Ibid, 167 also “los naturales que le habitan que podrán poblar de nuevo todo lo despoblado del Perú, que si se sujetan al yugo del santo evangelio y con general paz, cesarán las continuas guerras” Ibid, 168. Also, when Acuña argued that the Portuguese navigates the river almost without problem because their alliances with some warlike Native nations, Acuña implies that the Spanish Crown, when it subjected some of the bellicose nations it also could easily control the river navigation, as the Portuguese. “si sucediese que los portugueses que están en la boca de este río... ayudados de algunas naciones belicosas que tienen sujetas, penetrar por él arriba hasta llegar a los poblados del Perú o Nuevo Reino de Granada, aunque es verdad que por algunas partes hallaran resistencia, por otras muchas la hubiera muy poca, ...” Ibid, 168.

³⁹ “podrá por el mismo río abajo, mejor aún que pelo mar, echar de la boca él a cualesquiera otros que con siniestro título la posean y asegurar por este camino los muchos riquísimos frutos que de él se esperan, solo se dilatará el” Ibid.

river from the mouth would require the elimination of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Brazil and an additional war among the many Spain was already involved.⁴⁰ He added that costs would be higher if the conquest was initiated from the mouth of the river, as that would require soldiers, vessels, and other supplies for transportation and to establish new settlements; such would not be necessary as in Quito many individuals would be pleased to bear those expenses. In that case, the only cost to the Crown would be to send missionaries from Spain.

Acuña was straightforward in his assessment of the Portuguese and their interests in the Amazon discovery. He noted that if the conquest was made under Quito's supervision it would prevent the communication and traffic that the Portuguese wanted to consolidate between Peru and the area they controlled. Acuña considered that prospect very ominous, and warned about the hidden motives the Portuguese might have to control the river entrances. He declared that he had heard several times that "they are (sic) trying such communication from the coast of Maranhão and Pará."⁴¹ With the help of their warlike Natives-friends they could enter the upper Amazon reaching Spanish settlements. They might find resistance in some points along the river, but mostly it would be smooth

⁴⁰ See Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa, *España y sus tratados internacionales*, and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão *O tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil (1580-1668)*.

⁴¹ "Impedirse ha el trato y comunicación que tanto desean entablar los Portugueses que asisten en la boca de este río con los de su nación del Perú, que en estos tiempos sería bien prejudicial. U en ninguna manera se atreverán a intentarlo si supiesen desde luego se prevenía con tiempo su malicia, tomando las entradas de él. Y de que intenten esta comunicación los portugueses de aquella costa del Marañon y Pará cónstame con toda claridade, y como testigo de que lo oí tratar muchas veces entre ellos lo podré afirmar como cosa sin duda," "Memorial" in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque y Gonzalo Santonja, 167.

sailing. Acuña advises that the worst might be expected due to the “scant Christianity and loyalty of the Portuguese.”⁴²

Acuña was quite explicit on his views on the Natives, as well. The Natives were incompetent but they had souls, which the King would help to save. Their power of self-decision and their territory could be, and should be, transferred to their benevolent tutors; Natives were a source of revenue and power. Acuña acknowledged that the Natives in all of Peru were each day less numerous than in previous years, and in particular, in the area of the new discovery and in the mining regions where Indigenous labor was needed. In a few years the lack of a labor force would force those industries to stop or at least decrease their production considerably and that would result in great economic harm. To prevent this, the King had to take to heart this conquest and the conversion of this New World, where the Natives were so numerous that they could repopulate Peru, where Native villages had already submitted to the Gospels. As Acuña saw it, “when we need these people in the mines and in the cultivation of the land, this new Peru will accept the conquest probably even in an easier manner than here proposed.”⁴³

⁴² si sucediese que los portugueses que están en la boca de este río (que todo se pueda presumir de su poca cristiandad y menos lealdad) quisieren, ayudados de algunas naciones belicosas que tienen sujetas, penetrar por él arriba hasta llegar a lo poblado del Perú o Nuevo Reino de Granada, aunque es verdad que por algunas parte hallaran Resistencia, por otras muchas la hubiera poca, por salir a pueblos muy faltos de gente y en fin pisaran aquellas tierras vasallos desleales de vuestra majestade, que en reinos tan distantes pudiera solo este nombre de desleales causar gravísimos daños. Pues qué, si unidos con el holandés como lo están muchos del Brasil, intentase semejante atrevimiento?” Ibid, 168.

⁴³ ” Y cuando con ellos solo se beneficiaran las muchas minas y demas interesses que en sus naciones ofrece la fertilidad de la tierra, se debiera cual otro nuevo Peru aceptar luego su conquista, y con mas facilidad que aqui se ofrece,” Ibid.

In this sense, Acuña exposed the geopolitical context behind the expedition and the imperial interests more clearly than Teixeira and Rojas. The Natives were not only a religious asset, but also a potential politico-economical one. Similarly to Rojas, Acuña further re-writes the expedition, underlines that God's will allowed the Franciscans to descend the river, and the primacy of Quito and the Society of Jesus over the conquest. Nevertheless, he emphasized that the expedition was a Spanish achievement and the new discovery of the Amazon's navigation a geopolitical asset for the Spanish Crown and the Society of Jesus in Quito. Besides delineating the relationship between power and knowledge in a more visible form, Acuña also presents the European institutional takeover of the Natives' societies and territories in a more rational, or "scientific," manner.⁴⁴ Therefore, Acuña's narrative is the most effective in naturalizing the imperial conquest. Finally, I consider that the geographical and ethnographical knowledge is the key element of Acuña's project for territorial formation.⁴⁵ In this case, considering that Acuña's report is written as analysis of the potential regional geography of the Amazon Valley, the Natives are geopolitical assets for the purpose of political and territorial conquest.

⁴⁴ For theoretical discussion on the nexus of power and knowledge, and the individuals institutional role see Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences.*, Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge.*, Michel Foucault, and "The Subject and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*.

⁴⁵ For further theoretical geography discussion see Yves Lacoste, *A geografia: isso serve, em primeiro lugar, para fazer a Guerra.*, Milton Santos "Sociedade e espaço: a formação social como teoria e como método.", Milton Santos, *Por uma nova geografia.*, Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes and Wanderley Messias da Costa, *Geografia Crítica: A Valorização do Espaço.*, Antonio Carlos Robert Moraes, *Ideologias geográficas.*, and Antonio Carlos Robert de Moraes, *Geografia Histórica do Brasil*.

Chapter Fiver: Final Discussion

I can cite an anecdote here, for what it's worth. A specialist in documents of the reign of Louis XIV discovered while looking at seventeenth-century diplomatic correspondence that many narratives that were subsequently repeated as travelers' tales of all sorts of marvels, incredible plants and monstrous animals were actually coded reports. They were precise accounts of the military state of the countries traverses, their economic resources, markets, wealth and possible diplomatic relations.¹

Foucault

In chapter one, I focused on Teixeira's report as the main reference. I argued that Teixeira's expedition points to three major factors that affected the geographical representation of the Amazon Basin. The first factor is the Spanish-Portuguese antagonism over control of the Amazon Basin, which in practice often was not exercised by Portugal and Spain directly but by their subjects in local colonial governments: Maranhão for Portugal, and Peru for Spain. The second concerns the Spanish-Portuguese association of interests to purge the area of non-Iberian European nations. The third refers to the appropriation and rewriting of the Amazon territory as part of the European realm being explored and cleansed of Natives who refused, or might refuse, to accept Iberian control. These factors juxtapose and complement each other in a dialectical way, and they initiated the delineation of the Amazon Basin's geopolitical representation. Amidst the same process of conquest in which the European powers (Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French) were in intense dispute to assume the lead in practical actions to guarantee possession of the area, the Amazon territory, its land and people, were rewritten to fit into the European geopolitical realm. These factors encompass a "territorial demarcation" that can be apprehended in the discourses about the expedition

¹ Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon (ed). *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge*, 75.

in which the Native people and the land became subsumed in the European territorial representation.

In chapter two, I analyzed Rojas' report, and I argued that it re-wrote the expedition as a Quito achievement instead of a Portuguese accomplishment. In addition, it continued the process of re-writing the Native to produce and represent the Amazon Basin as European territory. In fact, it not only tried to rhetorically produce the Amazon and its people as a "European territory," but a Spanish one led by the primacy of Quito and the Society of Jesus. Rojas re-interpreted the expedition manipulating the geographical and ethnographical knowledge acquired from the perspective of imperial eyes as Teixeira did. However, his representation of the Natives has different focus than Teixeira's. In Rojas, the Natives are not friends or enemies; instead they are potential religious assets. When Rojas lowers the volume of the Portuguese voice in the discourse, the Natives appear as subjects whose errant behavior that must be corrected. Rojas's perspective underscores a cultural-religious critique of the Natives, implying that they are as children in need of guidance. Consequently, Rojas qualified the European conquest in different ideological terms than Teixeira did. Nevertheless, he retains and re-enforces the European territorial claims even further.

Finally, in chapter three, I directed attention to some aspects of Acuña's report, in particular his emphasis on the Spanish and the Jesuit precedence in the Amazon Basin's conquest. Moreover, I analyzed Acuña's *Memorial*, in which he openly argued for the Spanish geopolitical offensive in the Amazon Basin to be led by the authorities in Quito

and under the careful supervision of the Society of Jesus. In addition, I pointed out that Acuña presented not only a cultural- religious and ideological argument for the Spanish conquest, but also a geopolitical argument, related to politico-economical interests. I contended that the *Memorial* presents an unequivocal support to the appropriation of the Natives and their territory on the bases of geopolitics. Also, this document summarizes the antagonism between the two Iberian powers as well as their European enemies, and highlights the Natives' role as a potential population to defend the interests of each side.

As argued by Jaime Cortesão, the Teixeira expedition had a strong political character due to the antagonism between Portugal and Spain, and their local representatives.² Also, as unveiled by George Edmudson, this expedition exposes the realm of disputes over the Amazon territory among other European nations, as well.³ However, the three narratives show another political process taking place, the process in which the Natives were appropriated and re-written as European subjects.

Modes of Discourse

Teixeira and Rojas's narratives demonstrate how geographic and ethnographic knowledge was being incorporated into the European knowledge system. In Teixeira's narrative this process is less explicit. Teixeira's report is highly focused on the land and

² Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição de Pedro Teixeira."

³ George Edmudson. "The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century.", George Edmudson, "Early Relations of the Manóas with the Dutch, 1606-1732," George Edmudson., *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry, During the First half of the Seventeenth Century*, Being the Ford Lectures: Delivered at Oxford in 1910, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911)., and George Edmudson, "The Voyage of Pedro Teixeira on the Amazon from Pará to Quito and Back, 1637- 39."

the people as resources. Teixeira's report conforms to an implicit opinion that the Native is "the other" who can be used as a slave because he, or she, is understood a negligible human being who eats human flesh like the Tapajós, or the Omaguas or who are social threats because they do not abide by the values of the European society like the Tupinambás, who refused to be subjugated by the Portuguese. In Teixeira's report the Native is objectified as a resource by being narrated as a "savage enemy."⁴ In contrast, in the Rojas report, the Native appears more like part of a cultural-religious narrative in which they are potential souls to be guided. In both cases, the power of political determination of the Natives is undermined, which in terms of representation re-enforces the European territorial claims and undermines the Native ones.

Acuña's Report has 83 short sections, and it is better organized and written than those of Teixeira and Rojas. Acuña's account obviously compiles and uses those two reports, adding additional sources. It follows the principles of a natural philosophy treatise, thematically organized. Considering when it was written, Acuña's account is a master piece on the subjects of descriptive geography, demography and ethnography among other types of "knowledges" that later would be called "science." Before his report, Acuña presents official documents to certify and to confirm the legality and validity of the expedition, and obviously of the report itself. The first chapters are reviews

⁴ Alonso Perez de Salazar, *Informazion de el Liz. d' D.^m Alonso Perez de Salazar Presidente de la Audiencia de Quito, en que da cuenta, de la resoluzion que se tomo en la buelta de los Portugueses a las Provinzias del Marañon*, in Jaime Cortesão, "O significado da Expedição," However, as Perez de Salazar letter to the Crown informs, the Portuguese also incorporated the Native as a populational asset, as "friends" and as soldiers.

of the previous discoveries, or of the attempts to discover, before he introduces the river and its inhabitants.

Acuña's report is thematically organized and highly descriptive. No wonder it was a piece chosen for translation by the English and the French and part of its content continued to be used by scientists long after.⁵ Also, it is understandable why the Spanish Crown attempted to get rid of the report; it revealed way too much about a subject that was supposed to remain hidden.⁶ Acuña's report is a detailed guide to Amazonian geography and ethnography. Decades after the expedition, and in the context of the consolidation of Portuguese independence after 1668, this report became a testimony to Portugal's effective possession in the Amazon Basin. Acuña repeats Teixeira's suggestions and copies some of Rojas' analogies and paragraphs.⁷ Also, Acuña re-states the geopolitical precedence of Quito and the Society of Jesus to this new discovery.

⁵The French translation of Acuña's narrative (*Relation de la Riviere des Amazones traduite par feu Mr de Gomberville de l'Académie Française.*, 1682) was in fact a fundamental source to the *Rélation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale* by the encyclopedic author Charles Marie de La Condamine (1778) whose work launched the first modern scientific claims on Amazon subjects. See Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America*.

⁶ Nelson Papavero shows Sommervogel (1890) argued the argument of Spanish suppression presented by Gomberville (French translation of Acuña's report, 1682) was a simple conjecture. However, as Nelson Papavero defends, the restraint of access scholars from the seventeenth century had experienced seems to make the argument of suppression plausible. Nelson Papavero argues that the Spanish government suppressed the report about this expedition most likely because it diffuse the information on the navigation of the Amazon River and the Spanish intention of turn the Amazon River the outlet via for the riches of Peru using Pará as the main port in South America. As I found, the reports, in particular Acuña's, reaveel sensitive information, delivering geographical and ethnographical knowledge necessary to implement control in area. Knowledge that as the Portuguese subsequent takeover of large portion of the region originally assigned to Spain shows was essential in the process of understanding and controlling the territory. Therefore, I agree with Nelson Papavero because presumably the reports about the Teixeira Expedition became rare as a consequence of the Spanish effort to deny the Portuguese documents that could testify their presence and effective control on the Amazon Valley in the context after the 1668 Treaty of Lisbon (official Spanish acceptance of the restoration of Portuguese monarch).

⁷ For example, Acuña sections XX, XXI, XXII, and XXIII are almost identical to the paragraphs 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 of Rojas.

Acuña validates, however, his analysis by basing its claims on “science,” which also makes his rhetoric sound less partial, and hence more insidious.⁸ His arguments appear naturalized, independent, and neutral, which makes Acuña’s narrative sound more reliable and convincing, and therefore more potent, as Foucault’s theory on power and knowledge expounds.

Foucault explains how power operates in society and advises the reader and analyst to locate power strands in discourses and practices. Foucault’s theoretical system presents a schema in which we can understand the objectification of the subject. He explains that there are modes, or levels of objectification in which people, the subject of the discursive practices, can become objectified.⁹ I argue that this process is what can be seen in the three narratives presented in this thesis: Teixeira, Rojas, and Acuña’s.

The first mode that Foucault posits is called “dividing practices.” A certain category of human beings is isolated, and they suffer a type of confinement in the discourse. Teixeira’s narrative exemplifies such process, when he describes his encounters with the Tapajós, Tupinambás, and Omaguas. Using variable procedures, the subject is submitted to a process of social objectification and categorization. In Rojas’ descriptions this process is made obvious, when he concludes that the Natives have no ceremonies or rituals or when he generalizes about the reasons behind the wars between

⁸ Considering science as proposed in the introduction of this thesis. See Maria M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World*.

⁹ Foucault’s third mode is the “subjectification” in which the human being turns herself or himself back into a subject; this mode is not discussed in this thesis. For further theoretical discussion see Michel Foucault, *The order of things*, and Michael Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge*.

the Natives. Moreover, in the first mode of objectification the subject can be seen as victim of a process of constraint and objectification. The disadvantaged position of the subject is obvious: for instance, when Rojas reproduces the Portuguese speech, and when he imposes his cultural beliefs upon the Natives' religious practices. Although not exclusively, such modes of classification function to control and to dominate certain social groups by transforming their subjects into objects who can be manipulated, creating an ideology to justify to political and economic acts. Actually, from Teixeira to Rojas the level of categorization and description of the geographical sites and the Natives increases, culminating with Acuña.

The second mode to turn human beings into objectified subjects is related to, but independent from, the first. It is what Foucault called "scientific classification" and it arises from "the modes of inquiry, which try to give themselves the status of sciences... the objectivizing of being alive in natural history or biology."¹⁰ Foucault stressed that the western cultural system is characterized by a particular discourse made upon a reflective technique that not only searches for truth, but it has the obligation of telling the truth. This is by in large a continuous characteristic present in all these expedition accounts, especially in Acuña's. His report not just divides, but scientifically classifies features of the Indigenous populations: their types of weapons, ways to dress, as every practice observed or recollected from others' sources is meticulously reorganized in a thematic chapter. Acuña's discourse is self-enclosed. It is different from Teixeira's and Rojas'

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, by Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 208.

because it rarely includes any trace of digression, which could transmit doubt or uncertainty. Even Acuña's complaint about the expedition's decision to make an *entrada* to enslave Natives is presented as organized and included in a specific section. Everything has an order in Acuña's discourse; nothing is out of place.

Conclusion

All three discourses circumscribe the Natives as central to berian geopolitics. The political control of the Amazon region depended on knowledge of the physical and human features along the valley, allowing the imperial plans and actions.¹¹ On the way to Quito, the expedition collected and mapped detailed geographical information necessary to take possession of the land and its people. I argue that "Western" understanding of the official chronicles implicitly comprised an ongoing subjugation of specific natives groups and their territories. Analyzing the extant archival material it is possible to conclude that the Teixeira expedition launched the representation of the Amazon region as a Portuguese (and later a Brazilian) territory. Specifically, this expedition produced the geographical knowledge necessary to perform territorial control over the region. Using Foucault's theoretical framework on the relationship between knowledge and power, it is possible to conclude that this expedition was a first step in the process to produce the geographical knowledge necessary to yield European, and in particular Portuguese, territorial power over the region.

¹¹ John Brian Harvey, *The New Nature of Maps*.

Figure 5.1_ *Mestiço*, Albrecht Eckhort, [1641] in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.



Source: Lucinda Saragoça, *Da "Feliz Lusitânia,"* fig.10.

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¹² These sources contain transcriptions and translations of the original reports discussed in this thesis and letters, royal charts, and other documents of the time. Also, many of them may contain secondary relevant information.

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